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EDITORIAL NOTE

121 In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

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It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

January 1920. *Director of the Historical Section.*

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

1-1 Ukraina or Okraina (meaning 'border') appears originally to have formed the 'limes Rossicus' or 'Polonicus', i. e. borderland between the Russians, Poles, Turks, and Tatars, the centre of which lay in the lower reaches of the Dnieper valley. The connotation of the word has varied widely. When in process of time this borderland was colonized, and with the rise of Great Russia was extended in many directions, the old name Ukraina or Ukraine was loosely applied to the whole of the enlarged area where the Little Russians (Ruthenians) were in an increasing majority. This extension of the term was facilitated by the modern rise of Little Russian literature, especially in Austrian Galicia, where the use of the Little Russian language was permitted, and 'Ukrainian' rapidly passed from archaeological into literary currency as the equivalent of Little Russian in general.

The connotation of the Ukraine adopted here is that of the General Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council, issued November 20, 1917, in which it is definitely stated: 'Therefore we announce: to the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian—Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Taurida (without the Crimea).'[1]

151 The Ukraine as thus constituted consists of three provinces, the South-west Territory (*Yugo-Zapadny*

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[1] On March 29, 1918, the German Government recognized, in accordance with the Treaty of February 9 and the Ukrainian Proclamation, the nine Governments mentioned above as belonging to Ukraine proper, as well as parts of Cholm and Grodno.

131 *Krai*), Little Russia (*Malorossiya*), and part of South or New Russia (*Novorossiya*). The South-west Territory is formed by the three Governments (*gubernii*) of Volhynia (area, 27,700 square miles), Podolia (16,219 square miles), and Kiev (19,686 square miles); Little Russia by those of Chernigov (20,233 square miles), Poltava (19,265 square miles), and Kharkov (21,035 square miles); and New Russia contains the Governments of Yekaterinoslav (24,478 square miles), Kherson (27,337 square miles), and Taurida (23,312 square miles, of which 9,704 belong to the Crimea). It should be noted that the Ukraine by this definition excludes Bessarabia, the Don Cossacks' Territory, and the Crimea, all of which are included in New Russia.

131 101 The Ukraine thus occupies an area of more than 190,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Governments of Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, Smolensk, Mohilev, Minsk and Grodno; on the west by the recently created Russian Polish Government of Cholm, Eastern Galicia, and Bessarabia; on the south by the Black Sea, the Crimea, and the Sea of Azov; on the east by the Don Cossacks' Territory.

Except on the west and in the south the boundaries can hardly be said to coincide with natural divisions. Nor are they completely ethnographical, for the ethnographical area extends into Kursk, Voronezh, Grodno, Minsk, Cholm, and Eastern Galicia.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

133 The Ukraine falls naturally into three divisions: Polyesia in the north, the Black Sea plateau, extending from the western boundary to the Dnieper, and Little Russia on the left bank of the Dnieper.

Polyesia (of which only the southern part actually falls within the boundaries of the Ukraine as claimed by the Little Russians) occupies primarily the basin of the Pripet, a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper. The central portion consists of an almost unbroken series of marshes, generally known as the Pinsk marshes, which form one of the most impassable, unfertile, and unhealthy areas in Russia. There is, however, higher ground both to the north and south of the marsh region. In the south there are the Volhynian Heights, running from Cholm (in Russian Poland) through Lutsk, Rovno, and Dubno to Novograd Volynsk, a plateau rising to a height of over 1,000 ft. near Dubno. The high country is well wooded and suitable for agriculture.

The *Black Sea plateau* falls into four sections. The first or northern section is practically equivalent to the southern part of Volhynia. The highest point (over 1,200 ft.) occurs at Krzemenietz, from which the northern edge of the plateau extends east at a lesser elevation, passing north of Staro Konstantinov to Berdichev and Kiev.

The second section is that of the area between the Southern Bug and the Dniester, occupying a large part of Podolia. This section consists of a high plateau gradually declining from north-west to south-east, and includes along the western frontier the Miodobory Hills, running in a southerly direction into Bessarabia. The highest point is in the Proskurov district, 1,186 ft., and in this region there are also some marshes. Over the whole section are scattered numerous deep valleys, intersected by rapidly flowing watercourses at the base of well-wooded hills. The southern boundary of this section is formed by the Rivers Kedyma and Yagorlik, tributaries of the Bug and Dniester respectively.

From this river line the third or maritime section of the Black Sea plateau extends down to the Black Sea. This section contains various small rivers flowing roughly parallel to each other in a south-westerly direction, such as the Tiligul and the Kuyalnik.

The fourth or Zaporozhki section is the largest of the four. Its northern part is divided into two by the River Sinyukha, a tributary of the Bug. The western half rises to 800 ft., the eastern to 750 ft. Towards the north this plateau slopes down into the plains of Polyesia around the Pripet, Irpen, and Teterev; on the west it is bounded by the Southern Bug; on the east by the Dnieper. The southern part of the section, in which the plateau levels down to 300 ft., assumes the uniform shape of flat steppes, and the rivers flow for the most part sluggishly in shallow, extensive, marshy valleys, rich in ponds.

Little Russia is a continuation of the heights in the Governments of Smolensk, Orel, and Kursk, and in general slopes from the north-east to the south-west. The Governments of Chernigov and Poltava form undulating plains, of which the former varies from 750 ft. in the north to 370–600 ft. in the south, and the latter has a somewhat lower altitude. The Government of Kharkov in general is a table-land with an elevation of 300–400 ft., though heights of over 850 ft. are reached. It is divided into two by the valley of the Northern Donets. Marshes abound in all parts of this section except in the Government of Kharkov. The rivers flow in deeply excavated valleys, of which the right banks have the appearance of hilly tracts, while low plains extend along the left.

Coast

The Ukrainian coast, though small in extent, is of the very greatest importance, not only to the Ukraine but to the whole of Russia. It forms an outlet for a vast amount of commerce, a great deal of which is dealt with by the port of Odessa.

A very characteristic feature of this part of the Black Sea coast is the existence of *limans*. These *limans*, which are similar in formation to the Venetian Lido and to the *haffs* of the Baltic coast, consist of small or large inlets at the mouth of a river, e. g. the Dnieper and the Bug, separated from the main body of the sea by a strip of land (*peresyp*) with a narrow entrance. The shore is in places fairly high, but is everywhere easily disintegrated by the action of the weather.

River System

The Ukraine as a whole consists of portions of the basins of the Rivers Dnieper (with its tributary the Pripet), Dniester, Bug, and Donets, the last named being the largest affluent of the Don. 133

The *Dnieper*, which rises in the Government of Smolensk, has a total length of about 1,410 miles, and drains an area of 202,140 square miles. It first touches Ukrainian territory at Loyev on the western border of Chernigov, and thence flows in a south-easterly direction to Yekaterinoslav, in a shifting channel which varies greatly in depth and breadth. At Yekaterinoslav the river turns south and then south-west, forming a succession of rapids, so that navigation in this part is only possible when the river is in flood. Artificial canals enable small vessels to proceed when there is low water in the channel. The Dnieper enters the Black Sea below the town of Kherson, by a *liman*, into which the Bug also discharges. 133 487 [502]

The chief tributaries of the Dnieper are: on the right bank, going from north to south, the Berezina, which runs through the Government of Minsk; the Pripet, with its many affluents, among them being the Styr and the Strumen, all of which overflow their banks and help to form the system of marshes which is more fully described in *Russian Poland*, No. 44 of this series (p. 15), and the Ingulets, which flows a little above Kherson into the Dnieper near its outlet to the Black Sea. 133

On the left bank the chief tributaries are the Sosh; the Desna, which flows through Chernigov into the Dnieper just above Kiev; and the Samara, which joins the river at Yekaterinoslav.

There is a regular service of passenger steamers on the Dnieper both above and below the rapids, and also along the Pripet as far as Pinsk. [505]

The *Dniester* rises in Austrian Galicia, and only the last 515 miles of its course, with a drainage area of 16,500 square miles, belong to Russian territory. It reaches the Ukraine provinces near Kamenets Podolsk, 133 and then forms the frontier line between the Governments of Podolia and Kherson and the neighbouring province of Bessarabia. It receives no very important tributaries in the Ukraine, though there is a fair number of smaller ones. Navigation is interrupted by the [502] Yampol rapids. For ordinary river craft an artificial canal affords a passage here, but steamboats cannot pass upstream. The depth of the water has lately been increased by a more scientific system of regulation.

The *Bug* rises in Russian Poland and reaches the Ukraine near Vlodava, to the north-west of Volhynia. It forms for some distance the boundary between the Ukraine and Russian Poland, and then flows through Austrian Galicia into the Ukraine at Volochysk. Its winding course follows a south-easterly direction, entering the Black Sea by a *liman*.

The chief tributaries of the Bug within the Ukraine provinces are, on the right bank, the Kedyma and the Chichekleya; and on the left bank the Ingul.

The *Donets* rises in the Government of Kursk, and enters the Ukraine to the north of Kharkov. It then flows to the south-east, leaving the Ukraine at the extreme north-eastern corner of Yekaterinoslav.

(3) CLIMATE

132 Climatic statistics should generally be regarded as approximate.

The following recent figures are available for the South-west Territory—Tarnopol, although actually in Galicia, being taken as typical of the south-west of Volhynia, Berdichev of the south-east of Volhynia and the central part of the Government of Kiev, and Volkovints and Kamenets Podolsk of the Government of Podolia:

	Average Temperature (Fahrenheit).		
	January.	*July.*	*Year.*
Tarnopol	22·5°	66·0°	44·1°
Berdichev	22·3°	65·5°	45·0°
Volkovints	20·5°	65·9°	44·4°
Kamenets Podolsk	26·1°	68·5°	47·5°

The climate of Volhynia is more moderate than many eastern parts of Russia in the same latitude. Relatively mild winters are so common that the winter crops remain entire, and the climate is very beneficial for agriculture. Spring comes early (March), summer (at the end of May) is cool, autumn lasts long, and settled winter only begins in December. There are few droughts or periods of excessively wet weather.

The average annual rainfall in Volhynia varies from 20 to 24 in., in Podolia from 15 to 24 in., and is 20 in. in the Government of Kiev. July is the rainiest month, and after that June, May, and sometimes March.

The following are recent climatic statistics for Little Russia:

	Average Temperature (Fahrenheit).		
	January.	*July.*	*Year.*
Chernigov . . .	20·9°	68·0°	44·8°
Poltava	19·4°	70·3°	45·7°
Starobyelsk . . .	18·7°	73·6°	46·0°
Kharkov . . .	18·7°	70·7°	45·1°

The climate of Little Russia is closely connected with that of Central Russia, with its conflict between east and west winds. Winter tends to be long, though not so severe as in Central Russia, with frequent thaws, which sometimes greatly damage the winter wheat. The arrival of spring is apt to be uncertain, and is sometimes accompanied by a return of cold weather. Summer is moderately warm, and in the south-east sometimes hot. Autumn, with east winds, is remarkably dry.

The annual rainfall is inadequate, averaging 22 in. in the Government of Chernigov and 20 in. in that of Poltava, and varying between 21 in. in the west and 16 in. in the east and south-east of that of Kharkov. Droughts are common in the latter Government.

The climate of Odessa may be taken as more or less typical of New Russia, the mean temperature in January being 25·3°, in July 72·7°, and that for the whole year

132 49·3°. Drawbacks for agriculture in New Russia are the prevalence of north and east winds and an irregular and insufficient rainfall. The average rainfall at Yelisavetgrad is 17 in., at Odessa 16 in., at Lugansk 15 in., and at Nikolaev 14 in. The rains in April and May decide the harvest. June is the rainiest month, but from May to September there are droughts. Most places are largely dependent upon wells and ponds constructed in the ravines, which are frequent on the steppes.

The climate of the Ukraine, as a whole, is therefore continental, i. e. the variation between summer and winter temperatures is very great. Sudden variations of temperature are frequent. The rainfall is by no means abundant, and there is a progressive decline towards the south and south-east. The fact, however, that the bulk of the rainfall occurs in the summer favours agricultural operations, even where the annual amount of rainfall is comparatively low. It is only in New Russia that the country suffers seriously from drought.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

312 The Ukraine is very backward in regard to sanitary
364 conditions. Less than half the towns have a satisfactory water-supply, and a very small percentage of them a regular drainage system.

164 Typhoid, diphtheria, and malaria are very prevalent.
758 To the great majority of the people in the country, doctors are inaccessible, and even in the towns good hospitals and adequate medical attendance are very
515 rare. In the matter of cleanliness, however, the Little Russians compare favourably with the Great Russians.

(5) Race and Language

Race

162 The population of the Ukraine is composed of
563 a mixture of various races and nationalities, those chiefly represented being Little Russians, Poles, Jews,

Germans, Moldavians, and Bulgarians. There are also a certain number of Cossacks, but these are of Little Russian origin. The large majority of the inhabitants of the Ukraine are Little Russians, as will be seen by the tables given below. The origin of the Little Russians and their precise relation to the other branches of the Slav family are still a matter of dispute, but it is possible that they are of purer stock than the Great Russians, though they have assimilated Polish and Tatar elements, while the Great Russians have been largely influenced by the Finns.

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The *Poles* live chiefly in the western Ukraine, occupying the Governments of Volhynia and Podolia, and the Kiev and Berdichev districts in the Government of Kiev. The large estates are chiefly in their hands, and they are tenants of many others, while they also fill important positions in the sugar trade and in general carry much weight in the social and economic life of the western and central Ukraine. They are Roman Catholics.

The *Jews*, who form a most important commercial, industrial, and political group, are found in the Governments of Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev (except in the capital), Chernigov, Poltava, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav (except in Yalta), and Taurida. The town of Berdichev, in particular, is a Jewish stronghold. Many of the largest estates are mortgaged to the Jews, although they tend to live in the towns, where they succeed as good business men and middle men. Statistics for the Jewish population in the Ukraine given in the *Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israelites de Russie, d'après l'enquête de la 'Jewish Colonisation Association'*, 1908, do not show a large increase over the figures of 1897.

As regards the *Germans*, Swabian colonies have existed at Odessa since 1803, and the famous Liebental agricultural colony between the Dniester and the Black Sea was founded in 1812. Below the falls of the Dnieper and in Taurida there are Mennonite colonies from West and East Prussia. There are also German agriculturists

162 563 in Volhynia, who have done excellent work in draining the marshes. The Germans make their agriculture pay, and commercially they have penetrated to every town in the Ukraine. They also control many of the large estates and possess considerable financial influence. Their religion is Lutheran, Roman Catholic, or Mennonite. From a comparison of the table on p. 11 with figures for 1915 given by Dr. Max Friederichsen, it appears that the Germans in the Ukraine have decreased by about 50,000 since 1897. Many have emigrated to America ; others have been assimilated.

There are many *Moldavians* engaged in agriculture in the districts of Tyraspol, Yelisavetgrad, Ananiev, and Kherson. They form 6 per cent. of the population in the Government of Kherson, and 0·2 per cent. in that of Yekaterinoslav. Their religion is Orthodox Greek, as is also that of the *Bulgarians*. The latter are to be found chiefly in the districts of Berdyansk, Melitopol, Tyraspol, and round Odessa, and make excellent farmers. Though they speak Bulgarian, most of them understand Russian.

The *Cossacks* are energetic farmers, and have extensive farms. In their methods they are far in advance of the ordinary Little or Great Russians.

Among other nationalities are some *Czechs* in south-west Volhynia, and a certain number of *White Russians*, chiefly in the northern part of the Government of Chernigov.

The following are the figures given by the official Russian census in 1897 for the different races in the governments composing the Ukraine :

Government.	*Total.*	*Little Russians.*	*Great Russians.*	*White Russians.*	*Jews.*	*Germans.*	*Moldavians.*	*Poles.*	*Bulgarians.*
1. Volhynia	2,989,482	2,095,579 (i. e. 70 per cent. of total population)	104,889	3,794	394,774	171,331	—	184,161	—
2. Podolia	3,018,299	2,442,819 (81 per cent.)	98,984	—	369,306	4,069	26,764	69,156	—
3. Kiev	3,559,229	2,819,145 (80 per cent.)	209,427	5,389	430,489	14,707	—	68,791	—
4. Chernigov	2,297,854	1,526,072 (66 per cent.)	495,963	151,466	113,787	5,306	—	3,302	—
5. Poltava	2,778,151	2,583,133 (93 per cent.)	72,941	—	110,352	4,579	—	3,891	—
6. Kharkov	2,492,316	2,009,411 (81 per cent.)	440,936	10,258	12,650	9,080	—	5,910	—
7. Yekaterinoslav	2,113,674	1,456,369 (69 per cent.)	364,974	14,052	99,152	80,979	9,175	12,365	—
8. Kherson (rural)	2,733,612	1,462,039 (54 per cent.)	575,375	22,958	322,537	123,453	147,218	30,894	25,685
Odessa	403,815	37,925 (9 per cent.)	198,233	1,267	124,511	10,248	488	17,395	600
9. Taurida [1]	1,447,790	611,121 (42 per cent.)	404,463	9,726	55,418	78,305	—	10,112	41,260

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[1] The Little Russians only claim the mainland of the Government of Taurida. Allowing a third of the population in 1897 to represent residents in Taurida without the Crimea (which is an under-estimate), a total of about 22,867,000 is reached for the population in the whole of the Ukraine Out of this total the Little Russians in the Ukraine amounted in 1897 to 17,043,613 or 74 per cent.

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161 Since the official census of 1897 various official estimates of the population in the Ukraine have been issued; they do not distinguish between the different branches of Russians. According to the official estimates of January 1912 and 1915 the totals for the nine Governments in the Ukraine were as follows:

	1912.	1915.
Volhynia	3,995,700	4,241,800
Podolia	3,882,700	4,127,600
Kiev	4,635,700	4,988,000
Chernigov	3,083,500	3,148,900
Poltava	3,673,100	3,906,200
Kharkov	3,329,700	3,452,000
Yekaterinoslav	3,214,900	3,537,300
Kherson	3,547,500	3,806,900
Taurida (without the Crimea)[1]	982,800	1,066,650
Total	30,345,600	32,275,350

163 It is well known that the birth-rate of the Little Russians is higher and steadier than that of the Great Russians. But, even allowing for a mere continuance since 1897 of the same ratio between the two, the total of Little Russians in the Ukraine in 1912 can be fairly estimated at 23,500,000.

There are also large numbers of Little Russians in other Governments of Russia. Figures for these Governments in 1897 were as follows:

Government.	*Total Population.*	*Little Russians.*	*Percentage.*
Grodno	1,603,409	363,000	23
Kursk	2,371,012	527,778	22
Voronezh	2,531,253	915,883	36
Bessarabia	1,935,412	379,698	20
Kuban Province (Caucasus)	1,918,881	908,818	48
Stavropol (Caucasus)	873,301	319,817	37

In the same year there were also 719,655 Little Russians in the Don Territory, 133,115 in the Government of Astrakhan, 76,928 in other parts of the Caucasus, and 304,261 in parts of the old Governments of Lublin and Syedlets (now incorporated in the single Government of Cholm). Thus in 1897 there was in European Russia a grand total of at least 21,692,766 Little Russians. 161

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[1] The birth-rate has been more rapid on the mainland than in the Crimea; hence 50 per cent. of the population is allowed to Taurida alone.

Austria and Hungary also contain considerable numbers of Little Russians, or as they are often called in these parts, Ruthenians. Official figures of 1910 give 3,208,092 in Galicia, 305,101 in the Bukovina, and 472,587 in certain north-eastern counties in Hungary, i. e. a total of 3,985,780 Little Russians.

Accurate statistics for the full, up-to-date total of Little Russians are not available. Reliable German figures estimate the present total of Little Russians as at least 30,000,000, which is also borne out by unofficial Little Russian and Polish figures. 161

Language

The whole language question has been somewhat exaggerated owing to its inevitable connexion with politics. It is asserted by many that Little Russian is a separate language from Great Russian, though on the other hand many declare that it is only a dialect. It should be noted that in 1905 the Petrograd Academy of Science recognized the value of the study of the Ukraine dialect. 197

(6) POPULATION[1]

Distribution and Density

The *Russian Year Book* for 1916 gives the following estimate for the total population in the towns and in the country respectively on January 1, 1913: 162

Government.	*Town Population.*	*Country Population.*
Volhynia	293,300	3,777,200
Podolia	308,900	3,646,400
Kiev	744,500	3,919,100
Chernigov	321,100	2,787,700

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[1] See also Appendix I, p.

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Government.	*Town Population.*	*Country Population.*
Poltava	363,500	3,352,900
Kharkov	516,200	2,851,500
Yekaterinoslav	406,500	2,883,600
Kherson	1,017,500	2,592,800
Taurida (with the Crimea)	447,200	1,559,300

It is apparent from these figures that a large proportion of the population of the Ukraine is still engaged in agricultural pursuits.

161 Many parts of the Ukraine are very thickly populated. The most densely populated Governments are as follows: Podolia, 243; Kiev, 236; Poltava, 192; Chernigov, 154; Kharkov, 160; Volhynia, 146; Yekaterinoslav, 135; and Kherson, 132 persons per square mile.

Movement

163
165 The population of the Ukraine increases more steadily than that of Great Russia. The following figures are given by the official statistical annual (1914) for the year 1912:

	Births. total.	*Births. per 1,000.*	*Deaths. total.*	*Deaths. per 1,000.*	*Increase. per 1,000.*
Volhynia	154,685	39·0	72,287	18·1	20·9
Podolia	145,401	37·4	73,254	18·9	18·5
Kiev	182,024	39·3	92,109	19·9	19·4
Chernigov	116,411	37·8	59,972	19·5	18·3
Poltava	136,951	37·3	64,801	17·6	19·7
Kharkov	151,064	45·4	73,349	22·0	23·4
Yekaterinoslav	150,233	49·5	72,995	22·7	26·8
Kherson	157,622	44·4	92,227	26·0	18·4
Taurida	85,913	43·7	44,080	22·4	21·3

165 The average mortality is lower in the towns than in the country, owing to the fact that the more robust elements of the population are attracted to the towns, leaving the old men, women, and children behind.

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758 Infant mortality is often as high as 50 per cent.; this is due to ignorance, insufficient feeding, and the fact that mothers return to work in the fields or factories within a few days of child-birth. The imperfect system of medical aid prevents many cases of births and deaths from ever being officially reported.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary

1/15

859. Invasion of the Variags.
880. Power concentrated at Kiev.
988. Vladimir, prince of Kiev, accepts Christianity.
1015. Death of Vladimir and division of his dominions.
1169. Title of Grand Duke assumed by the Prince of Suzdal.
1315. Kiev, Volhynia, and Chernigov pass to Lithuania.
1340. Halich passes to Poland.
1386. Marriage of Prince Jagiello of Lithuania with Queen Yadviga of Poland.
1569. Union of Lublin; establishment of Polish domination.
1648. Beginning of Cossack wars.
1654. Treaty of Pereyaslavl.
1667. Treaty of Andrusovo.
1686. Conquest of Zaporogia.
1708. Rebellion of Mazeppa.
1709. Battle of Poltava.
1734, 1764. Powers of Cossacks curtailed by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great.
1763, 1783. Ukrainian peasants made serfs.
1768. Rising of the Koliivshchina.
1772. First Partition of Poland; Halich-Russ ceded to Austria.
1793, 1795. Second and Third Partitions; division of the remainder of the Ukraine between Russia and Austria.
1825. Liberal propaganda commenced.
1831. Polish rising.
1846. Beginning of Nationalist movement.
1861. Abolition of serfdom.
1900. Formation of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party.
1917. Proclamation of Ukrainian Republic.
1918. Government of General Skoropadski.
Establishment of a Directory.

General Sketch of History

The history of the Ukraine is not, until the seventeenth century, a connected chronicle of events which happened to one people of one culture, language, and religion; it is rather the story of events which have taken place in the land which is now called the Ukraine.

The Eastern Slavs, with an admixture of Norman blood, who inhabited the Ukraine from the eighth to the thirteenth century, almost lost their contact with the Slavonic world after 1239, the year which saw the beginning of the Tatar invasions. Owing to the nature of the country—mostly level steppe—there was a more permanent assimilation of the invaders with the inhabitants here than in the Slavonic forest country to the north and west. After the invasions the literary language of the country became amalgamated with the Great Russian literary language; and the educated classes became polonized or russified. From the Tatar invasions to the middle of the seventeenth century the land appears in history as the territory or colony of its various neighbours, chiefly Poland. About the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the masses of the people, fully amalgamated with the Asiatic invaders, began, largely through Cossack influence, to feel a difference between themselves and the foreign ruling class. From this time onwards, an Ukrainian nation may be said to have existed.

The whole history of the Ukraine may be divided into the following four periods:

(A) The Kiev-Russ State (not Russia), 850–1340, organized by the Scandinavian conquerors.
(B) Lithuanian and Polish dominations, 1340–1795.
(C) Russian domination, 1795–1917.
(D) Ukraine since the Russian Revolution, 1917–19.

(A) FIRST PERIOD: KIEV-RUSS; THE TATARS (850–1340)

The territory of the Ukraine has been the scene of many short-lived dominations, such as the Scythian, the Sarmatian, the Gothic, and, in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the Hunnic. The Slavs appeared shortly after the Huns. Just before the appearance of the Scandinavian Variags on the Dnieper, between the seventh and tenth centuries, a powerful

Turkish Khanate of Khazars on the Don and lower Volga subjugated from time to time some of the Eastern Slavs, while other branches of them on the San and Dniester were subdued by the Avars and the Lakhs (Poles). In 859 the Variags appeared under the leadership of Rurik. They had already organized the Slavonic state of Novgorod in the north (852); and they brought with them the name of Russ (Ruotsi), which had been given to them by the Finns. The organization of the various states which originated in towns set up by these Scandinavians was mainly directed towards opening up and protecting trade communications between Constantinople and Scandinavia through the then already well-known commercial town of Kiev.

But already, in 880, Oleg, the successor of Rurik, and Igor, Rurik's son, had concentrated their power in Kiev itself, whose prince assumed the title of Grand Duke. From this centre they not only enlarged their territory by the addition of Slavonic lands, but even threatened Constantinople. Thence onwards the history of the Scandinavian invaders is blended with that of the Eastern Slavs, whose national consciousness was not very strong at that time. The Scandinavians adopted an East Slavonic language but a Byzantine culture, and formed a privileged class of warriors (*druzhina*) and princes. The princes of Kiev extended their power over the Eastern Slavs of the Dnieper and Bug, and occasionally over the Eastern Slavs of Halich (Red Russ or Ruthenia), who otherwise paid tribute to the Poles or were ruled by their own princes. Until the time of St. Vladimir, the first prince of Kiev to accept Christianity (988), there were certain small independent East Slavonic princes in the neighbourhood of Kiev. Vladimir kept the control of the government in his own hands, in so far as external affairs, i.e. trade and war, were concerned; but otherwise the princes ruled in their own towns. Thus the Kiev principality was rather a confederation of states than one united state.

After the death of St. Vladimir in 1015, his dominions were divided among his children; and thenceforward the central government tended to become weaker and the power of the separate duchies to increase at its expense. Yaroslav, under whom the 'Russ Land Codex' (*Russkaya Pravda*) was compiled, united for a short time all the Russ lands; but, after his death in 1054, dynastic strife undermined the political and commercial importance of the Kiev state.

Several independent duchies overshadowed Kiev after the reign of Yaroslav; and still more was this the case after the death of Prince Vladimir Monomakh in 1125. The Scandinavian upper class had by this time become slavonized; and the cultural influence of Byzantium was stronger than that of Scandinavia among the Eastern Slavs. Three political centres replaced Kiev. In the north Novgorod recovered its old importance and developed its colonizing activity in the direction of northern Europe and Asia. In the south the Prince of Halich assumed the headship of Halich, Volhynia, and, to some extent, Chernigov; until in 1315, Kiev, Volhynia, and Chernigov passed to Lithuania, and Halich, in 1340, to Poland. The third political centre was formed by the princes who emigrated from Kiev-Russ and formed principalities along the Upper Volga and Oka, in Finnish lands. The leadership of these lay first with the Prince of Suzdal, who, in 1169, tried to subdue Kiev, and assumed the title of Grand Duke; then it passed to Vladimir-Suzdal, and finally to Moscow.

(B) SECOND PERIOD: LITHUANIAN AND POLISH DOMINATION (1340–1795)

(*a*) *Division between Poland and Lithuania* (1340–1569).—During this period Poland possessed Halich-Russ, where the Poles built a line of fortresses, proclaimed religious toleration for the Greek and Latin churches in 1447, brought Lvov to pre-eminence, and introduced the Magdeburg law into the towns. The Lithuanian dukes, who since 1315 had acquired the duchies of Chernigov, Volhynia, and Kiev, were the

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rivals of the Poles in Podolia. The success of the Lithuanian conquest was due partly to the fact that the conquerors often adopted the language of the Ukraine (White Russian dialect), and in many cases joined the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Poles and Lithuanians succeeded to the Tatars. While the north-western Ukraine remained in actual fact the property of the local princes, under a Lithuanian or Polish central government, the southern steppes were nominally claimed by the Polish Crown ; actually, however, the half-nomadic population of Volhynia and Podolia had migrated to the steppes and colonized them along the Lower Dnieper (Nizh). The Black Sea littoral was still dependent on Turkey. The keenness of the rivalry between the Lithuanians and the Poles in the Ukraine was blunted by a common fear of the Germans and of the growing power of Moscow. In 1386 the Lithuanian Prince Jagiello married the Polish Queen Yadviga, so that the union between Poland and Lithuania originated in a purely dynastic arrangement. The Union of Lublin (1569) consolidated this dynastic connexion, united Lithuania and Poland into a bipartite state, and attached Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, and Podlasia to the Polish state. In these newly acquired Ukrainian lands the Poles recognized, in spite of Cossack opposition, both the Latin and the Greek Churches.

(*b*) *Polish Domination* (1569–1772).—To protect the frontiers of the enlarged state, the Polish kings arranged the ‘ registration ’ of the Cossack communities living in the Nizh (Lower Dnieper), called also Zaporogia, i. e. the ‘ country beyond the rapids ’, and in the Northern Ukraine. The Cossacks who were placed on the register were paid by the King, and recognized the authority of the Crown ‘ hetman ’ (chief), but otherwise lived in almost complete independence in villages and military camps, and were unwilling to adopt any permanent state ties. A series of rebellions under local Cossack leaders against the Polish administration from 1592 onwards secured reforms from the Polish Crown, while the Polish attempts to colonize the Lower Dnieper

175 and to control Zaporogia were more and more vigorously opposed by the Cossacks. The Muscovites meanwhile colonized the eastern steppes, now called also Ukraine (between the Dnieper and the Don), and gave support to all Cossack refugees from the Polish Ukraine.

The Cossack Wars (1648–1712), known also as 'The Ruin', differed from the previous rebellions in that they were better led, and that the Cossacks under Chmielnicki had the support of the Ukrainian peasants, who rose against their Polish overlords, and of some of the Ukrainian *szlachta* (landlords), who, although favoured politically by the Polish Government, joined the others on the ground of religious fellowship. The year 1648 marks the beginning of a national consciousness among all the Ukrainian people. Chmielnicki was, however, in 1653 compelled to apply to Moscow for protection. The Treaty of Pereyaslavl between Chmielnicki and the Tsar Alexis in 1654, while recognizing a certain amount of self-government for the Ukrainian and Zaporogian armies, brought the people of the Ukraine, as well as the military communities of Zaporogia, under a control from Moscow stricter than that formerly exercised by the Poles. The Ukrainian Cossacks retained their own system of government, and were allowed to receive foreign envoys from anywhere except Poland and Turkey, but they swore allegiance to the Tsar; while, from the beginning, the Tsar's envoy to Pereyaslavl, Buturlin, refused to confirm by oath the Tsar's allegiance to the treaty. Hence sooner or later most of the Hetmans, including Chmielnicki himself, rebelled against Moscow, in which revolts they were invariably supported by Turkey and Poland.

The failure of Moscow to subjugate the Ukrainians permanently, Turkish interference, and various dynastic reasons, led Poland and Moscow to make the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667). According to this treaty, Moscow obtained the country on the left side of the Dnieper (Trans-Dnieper and Kiev) and Poland the country on the right side of the Dnieper (Cis-Dnieper). Zaporogia or Nizh was left in theory under the protection of both, but in practice it served as a land of refuge for those whose plans for autonomy had been defeated. These defeated rebels organized the famous *Sich*, a kind of military and ascetic order, from which women were absolutely excluded, and which involved complete social equality, adherence to the Orthodox Church, and allegiance to the Zaporogian community. The Ataman (Hetman), or head of the organization, was elected for a year, and had the power of a dictator in time of war. In peace the supreme authority rested with the Rada, or Council. Zaporogia formed an obstacle in the way of Russia's obtaining the Black Sea littoral, and was therefore conquered by Moscow in 1686. Soon afterwards the Cossacks rose for the last time, under Mazeppa (1708–9), and received help from Sweden, then at war with Russia. But the Russian victory at Poltava in 1709 decided the fate of the Cossacks. Their privileges were suppressed; and, though in 1710, by the Pact of Bendery, Sweden promised independence to the Ukraine and Zaporogia, the country was again divided between Poland and Russia, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Andrusovo. The *Sich* was suppressed, and was finally abolished in 1775.

When the victorious Peter the Great moved to the left (i.e. Russian) bank of the Dnieper, he brought with him the majority of the population of the right bank. The Cis-Dnieper or Polish Ukraine thus became depopulated; and the Polish administration, by granting special privileges to the colonists from Poland, Halich-Russ, and Trans-Dnieper, fostered the growth of *slobodas* (land-holdings with special privileges). The power of the *szlachta* was now limited by national Ukrainian risings against the Catholic Polish landlords and the Jews, as well as by pillaging expeditions from the Lower Dnieper. The most eventful rising was that of the Koliivshchina in 1768. It was cleverly manipulated by Catherine the Great; but after some 200,000 Poles, Jews, and Uniat Ukrainians had been massacred, the Empress intervened in favour of the Polish landlords, who cared more for the interest of their houses than for the Polish State.

After the Treaty of Andrusovo the Trans-Dnieper country was known as Hetmanshchina, i. e. the country dependent on the Hetman. The Ukrainians in the Hetmanshchina were grouped into ten regiments, in which the colonels had full administrative power, In 1734 Peter the Great withdrew the self-governing privileges of the regiments, abolished the dignity of the Hetman, and organized a kind of Ministry for Cossack affairs, called the Malorossiyan (Little Russian) Collegium, in which all colonels had to be Great Russians. Peter II and Elizabeth restored the dignity of the Hetman, but it was finally suspended by Catherine the Great in 1764. The country was colonized with Kalmucks, Serbs (in 1732 and 1753), and Germans, to whom important privileges were granted in 1763 and 1764. In 1775 Catherine distributed large quantities of Zaporogian territory among Russian nobles and officials.

(*c*) *The Ukraine during the Partitions of Poland* (1772–95).—In the First Partition (1772), Austria received Halich-Russ, i.e. the *voyevodstvas* of Russ and Belza, called by the Austrians Galicia, and occupied northern Moldavia. Russia took the eastern part of White Russia. In 1786 Austria acquired the Bukovina. The Cis-Dnieper Ukraine, or the *voyevodstvas* of Volhynia, Kiev, and Chernigov, protested against this partition. Between the First Partition and the Second (1793) a great economic, intellectual and political revival in Poland led to reforms in the Polish Ukraine. The Jesuit schools, which had been dissolved in 1773, were replaced by State schools under the Polish Minister of Education; Krzemenietz and Winnica were the two intellectual centres around which the schools and industries were grouped. But all these reforms in the Polish Ukraine were made with a view to the retention of the country as a Polish province. At the same time, in the Trans-Dnieper country, the Russians, in spite of local protests, had carried out a ruthless russification.

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After the final victory over the Turks in eastern Europe and the annexation of the Crimea in 1783, Russia surrounded the Ukrainians on all sides. By the decrees of 1763 and 1783 the Ukrainian peasants were made serfs; and in 1785 the Ukrainian nobles were raised to the privileges of the Great Russian nobles. In the same year, Cossack regiments were organized on the model of the Imperial regiments; and, from 1780 onwards, the administrative division into Imperial 'Governments' was introduced. General education suffered a marked relapse. Thus in 1768, shortly after the suppression of the last Hetman, in the districts forming the present Chernigov Government, there were 134 schools, or one school for 746 people, while in the same districts in 1875 there were only 52 schools, or one school for 6,730 people.[1]

At the Second Partition in 1793, Russia obtained most of the Cis-Dnieper Ukraine, i. e. the *voyevodstvas* of Kiev, Braclav, Podolia, and the eastern part of Volhynia, as well as the rest of White Russia and half of Lithuania. In the Polish insurrection which followed that partition, the *szlachta* and many peasants of the Cis-Dnieper Ukraine supported the Polish leader, Kosciuszko. In the Third Partition, Russia took the remaining part of Volhynia and the eastern part of Cholm, as well as the rest of Lithuania, while the greater part of Cholm was taken by Austria. By the Treaty of Paris (1815), all the Cholm land and Podlasia passed to Russia; and Eastern Galicia and the Bukovina were the only lands inhabited by Ukrainians retained by Austria.

(C) THIRD PERIOD: RUSSIAN DOMINATION, 1795–1917

(*a*) *Protests against Russification* (1795–1846).—After the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, the Russian Government of set policy favoured the aristocracy,

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[1] M. Hrushevski, *Sketch of the History of the Ukrainian Nation*, 3rd ed., Petersburg, 1911, p. 417.

175 whether Polish or Ukrainian, who were loyal to the Tsar, and to some extent also the Ukrainian peasants, at the expense of the Polish-Ukrainian middle class of landowners (*szlachta*), or the middle-class urban *intelligentsia* of Ukrainian nationality, who generally used the Russian language. Hence it was in these two latter classes that the spirit of protest still existed in 538 spite of its apparent hopelessness. The expression of this spirit of protest is to be found in the literature it produced, though this has obvious traces of Polish and Great Russian influence. Ukrainians such as Kapnist, Gogol, Velichko, Hanenko, Artemenski, and Hrebinka, were educated at the universities of Moscow and Kharkov, and wrote in the Russian language. To the same literary school belong Ivan Kotlarevski (1769–1839), the 'father' of Ukrainian literature, the first to write in Ukrainian as well as in Russian, and the Pole, Chodakowski, who was the first to study and collect the folk-lore of the Ukraine.

In the west of the Russian Ukraine a school of Ukrainian Polish poets arose, who wrote in Polish, but took as their subject the Ukraine and her liberation from Russia. Eminent among these were A. Malczewski, S. Goszynski, 175 B. Zaleski, and M. Czaikowski. Between 1803 and 1825, Adam Czartoryski and Tadeusz Czacki, two Polish Liberal nobles, acting for the Polish Education Committee under the then Liberal government of Alexander I, started numerous schools radiating from two chief centres—Krzemenietz, where a Catholic lyceum, and Human, where a Uniat college was founded. In 1818 a Masonic Lodge was instituted in Poltava, with the object of bringing about an understanding between the Liberals of Poland, the Ukraine, and Russia; and in 1825 an important meeting was held at Jitomir (*Slovyanskoye Sobranie*) of Dekabrist Russians, Poles, and Ukrainian *intelligentsia*—the latter still using the Polish and Russian languages. From 1825 dates the propaganda of the *lirniki* or Liberals, who wandered with their harps among the people like mediaeval bards, instilling into the Ukrainian peasants the ideas of the abolition of serfdom and of freedom from Russia. 1115 Most of these Liberals, as for example Rzewuski and Padurva, were Poles, or the products of Polish culture.

The Polish Rising of 1831.—This rising received much active support from the *intelligentsia* in the part of the Ukraine concerned; and the greatest of Ukrainian [538] poets, Shevchenko (born 1814), was influenced by Polish middle-class Liberalism and Polish literature. The University of Kharkov, founded in 1805, had until 1831 many Polish professors lecturing in their own language. But this Polish cultural and political influence was checked when the Polish colleges in Vilna and Krzemenietz were suppressed in 1832, and a Russian university was founded at Kiev in 1834. This latter was at first distinctly governmental and official in character, but by the middle of the nineteenth century it had produced a new school of writers of far more active revolutionary tendencies than were ever manifested by the Kharkov circle. Apart from the Polish and Dekabrist risings and the literary attempts of polonized and russified Ukrainians, the first part of the nineteenth century is marked by a passive submission of the masses to the military and autocratic regime of Russia.

(*b*) *Russian, Polish, and Austrian Rivalry; Growth of Nationalism in the Ukraine* (1846–1914).—The modern nationalist movement in the Ukraine began with the foundation of a purely Ukrainian society called the 'Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood' in Kiev about 1846. This society had not merely the literary object of promoting the Ukrainian language, until then only in oral use among the peasants, but also a far-reaching political programme. Friendly feelings towards Polish and Russian Liberals still existed, and a federation of autonomous Slavonic states was aimed at. In this federation the Ukraine was to form two states, West Little Russia and East Little Russia. The creators of the society were the most prominent Ukrainian literary men, the poet Shevchenko, the historian Kostomarov, and the journalist Kulish.

175 In 1847 they and many others were arrested by the Russian Government; and the society, which never was legal, was suppressed. At the same time in the Austrian Ukraine the Government, following for the time being an anti-Polish policy, was popular with nationalist Ukrainians. Supported by the Government, the Galician Ukrainian peasants rose and massacred the Polish landlords. In 1846–7 serfdom was abolished in Galicia and Bukovina; a measure which was naturally received with favour by the Ukrainians, of whom a great majority were peasants. Count Stadion, the Austrian Governor of Galicia, organized in Lvov (Lemberg) the *Holovna Rada Ruska*, a nationalistic Ukrainian body, anti-Polish and anti-Russian, but supporting the Austrian Government. The same year brought, as a reaction against Austrian manœuvres, a short-lived Ukraino- (Ruthen) Polish agreement, made at the Slavonic (Pan-Slav) Congress in Prague. This again displeased the Russian Government, which hurriedly organized a society, the *Galitsko-Russkaya Matitsa*, in Lvov, with the object of beginning an anti-Austrian and anti-Polish, but Russophil, propaganda among the Galician Ukrainians. This society was especially active in 1866, when the Poles obtained autonomy in Galicia, with control over the Ukrainians. Russophil propaganda in Galicia had begun with the visit of Pogodin, the Russian Pan-Slavist, in 1835; but the Russophils organized themselves only after the 'mission' of T. Lebedyntsev, who, as the agent of the Russian Government, came to enrol Ukrainians for anti-Polish propaganda in Cholm in the Russian Ukraine.

While encouraging the Ukrainians in Austria in their nationalist feelings, Russia tried to suppress the Ukrainian movement in her own territory. The result of this was seen during the Crimean War, when an Ukrainian Pole, M. Czaikowski (Sadyk Pasha), tried, with the help of Turkey, to revive the *Sich* and organized his 'Cossacks' to fight against Russia. Nevertheless the call to the colours during the recent war roused in the Russian Ukraine a spirit demanding the abolition of serfdom and the restoration of old Cossack freedom. The chief centre of Ukrainian propaganda during the period 1860–90 was in East Galicia, though the 'Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood' received more support among the *intelligentsia* of the Russian Ukraine, and proceeded on more nationalist lines. In the East Ukraine appeared the journal *Osnova* (1862–3). Sunday schools held in the Ukrainian language were established (1861) in Russia, and societies were founded which called themselves literary, but were really political and nationalist in their aims. The most prominent of these were the 'Prosvita' on both sides of the Ukraine (1868), the 'Gromada' in Kiev (1870), and finally the 'Shevchenko' (1873) in Lvov and Kiev, which, under the leadership of the Ukrainophil *intelligentsia*, started the movement for establishing a uniform Ukrainian language throughout the Ukraine and bringing about democratic reforms. The founders of the 'Shevchenko' Society, not unlike Hrushevski some twenty years later, tried to spread a uniform propaganda on both sides of the frontier, but the Russian Government frustrated their endeavour to influence the Ukrainian peasant by severe police restrictions on the *intelligentsia*, and by decrees suppressing Ukrainian books and language (1863 and 1876).

On the other hand the abolition of serfdom in 1861 made the Russian Government popular with the peasant. The Abolition Law gave to the peasants allotments of between three and eight acres, though a minimum of sixteen acres was necessary to support a family. From the beginning, therefore, the Ukrainian peasant felt a grievance against the large landowners rather than against the central government; and, as agricultural industries became centralized in the hands of capitalists, the economic problem grew yearly more acute. The unions of landowners, the *zemstvos*, had no Ukrainians among them, while the Ukrainian peasants, among whom the village community (*mir*) of the Great Russians was very little developed, were also behind

175 other provinces of the Empire in co-operative and self-organizing capacity. There was, then, little hope that economic betterment would be brought about by the evolution of peasant communities, as in Great Russia and Siberia. This situation was used by the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Austrian Government, which supported them. The expectation of economic advantages underlay the nationalistic movement; and the villages afforded much better ground for it than the towns, which were mostly Russian. In order to counteract the influence of the Ukrainian 'Prosvita', the Russian Government supported the 'Society of the Kachkovski' in Lvov (1875), which had a Russophil tendency.

In 1898, under the leadership of the Ukrainophils Hrushevski and Franko, the language reform campaign began. The Ukrainophils accepted the Podgorski dialect spoken in the Carpathian valleys as far east as the Dniester as the standard language, and proposed a phonetic orthography; while the Russophil Ukrainians took the northern branch of the Russian Ukrainian dialect, called Little Russian, as the standard language, and proposed an 'historical' orthography based on etymological spelling. The Ukrainophils were supported by the Austrian Government, which in 1874 introduced the Ukrainian language into the elementary schools of East Galicia, and subsequently recognized in 1895 the phonetic orthography of the Ukrainophils as the standard orthography of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and the Bukovina.

After 1890, however, the Austrian Government altered the Ukrainian policy inaugurated by it in 1848. Acting partly in his capacity as an anti-Russian Austrian Premier, and partly as a Pole, Count Badeni, helped by Professor Antonovicz of Kiev, brought about in 1889–90 an understanding between the Nationalist Ukrainian *intelligentsia* and *szlachta* and the Conservative Poles on the ground of a common anti-Russian feeling. As a result of this understanding, Professor Hrushevski, a pupil of Antonovicz, went in 1894 from Kiev to Lvov to fill the chair of Ukrainian history. Another representative of the Ukrainian *szlachta*, Paulin Swiecicki, tried to rouse Polish sympathy with Ukrainian irredentism. 175

But these measures were the last conciliatory steps. In the last ten years of the nineteenth century the anti-Polish parties, the Radicals, led by Dragomanov (1895) in the Austrian Ukraine, grew in strength; and relations between the Poles and Ukrainians in the Russian, and still more in the Austrian, Ukraine became worse and worse. This was undoubtedly connected with the fact that after 1866 the Austrian Government subjected the Ukrainians to the Poles, while in the Russian Ukraine the Government favoured the large Polish landowners, who occupied high positions at Court. The Galician elections of 1897, when Badeni's Polish policy was victorious, finally made a gulf between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia which affected relations between them in the Russian Ukraine as well. For the first time the Russophils and Ukrainophils united in opposition to the Poles.

In 1900 there was a further important change in Austrian policy in the Ukraine. The visit of the Emperor Francis Joseph to Berlin in that year was understood to have had the object of reconciling German and Austrian opinion in regard to the Ukraine. Shortly afterwards the Ukrainian Radical, M. Sembratovych, published an anti-Polish book, *Polonia Irredenta*, which was cordially welcomed by the German press.

Growth of Political Parties.—About the same time various Ukrainian political parties began to organize themselves. Of these the most important was that of the 'National Democrats', founded in 1899 by Professor Hrushevski in Galicia to fight for rights equal to those of the Poles in Galicia and for the autonomy of the Russian Ukraine as a federate Russian state. This party resembled the Polish National Democrats; and their half-gymnastic, half-military organizations, called *sokoly*, were similar to the Polish and Bohemian *sokoly*. In 1900 the first Revolutionary Ukrainian Party was organized in Lvov; in 1905 it assumed the name of the

175 'Ukrainian Social Democratic Working-men's Party', and their gymnastic-military societies were called *sich.* Both these parties were in constant communication with the Russian Ukraine.

The Russian Revolution of 1905.—As a consequence of this revolution, the restriction upon the Ukrainian language in Russia, partly cancelled (with regard to theatres and public lectures) in 1881, was entirely withdrawn; and in 1910 the Russian Academy of Science published a report by seven academicians in which they supported the just demand of the Ukrainians to have their school text-books in their own language. This was taken by the Ukrainians to be a recognition of Ukrainian as a separate language. In 1906 the Ukrainian members of the first Duma joined the Autonomist-Federalist Group, but scarcely any separatist movement was noticeable. The second Duma had an Ukrainian club, which worked for the autonomy of the Ukraine; their organ was the *Ridna Sprava.* But in the third Duma, owing to manipulations of the franchise, the Ukraine was represented by very backward members, uneducated priests and peasants.

The Russian Ukraine turns to Austria and Germany.—Between 1907 and 1914 new anti-Ukrainian measures were passed by the Russian Government, much to the discontent of the Russian *intelligentsia.* After 1909 the Ukrainian Social Democratic party in the Russian Ukraine, which was connected with the Social Democrats in Galicia, grew stronger, and formulated a programme of autonomous government. The Ukrainian university students agitated in favour of Ukrainian chairs in Russian universities in Ukrainian territory; and Bishop Parthenius made an attempt to introduce the Ukrainian language as the medium of instruction in church schools. The attitude of the Poles towards this movement in the Russian Ukraine varied according to their connexion with one or the other of the two great political groups. The Conservative Polish landowners in the Ukraine, as for example Count Joseph Potocki, supported the Russian Government by building on their estates schools for Ukrainian peasants in which the Russian tongue was employed; and the leader of the Polish National Democratic Party in the Duma used his influence with Conservative Polish opinion in Galicia to support the Russophil propaganda carried on there by the Russian Government. As a result of these efforts, in the Galician elections of 1907 ten Russophils were elected to the Reichsrat as opposed to eleven Ukrainophils. This was followed by the murder of the Polish Viceroy, Count A. Potocki, by a Ukrainophil Radical in 1908.

Meanwhile in Galicia the Russophil propaganda of the Russian Government was rousing much opposition; and the Russophil party itself split up into two sections. The Pro-Russian Party, supported by the Pan-Slavist Count Bobrinski, and led by the Ukrainian Dudykievich, edited the *Prikarpatskaya Rus*; while the Moderate Russophil or Old Ruthenian Party, under the leadership of the Ukrainians Davydiak and Korol, published the *Halychanin*. The growing power of the Radicals also opposed the Russophils; and in the Galician elections of 1913 only one Russophil was elected. At the same time, German as well as Austrian influence began to assert itself among the Ukrainians of Galicia. This has been proved through the disclosure by a Polish journalist, Krysiak, of 97 documents exchanged from March 1903 onwards between the Prussian Anti-Polish Society (*Ostmarkenverein*) and the Ukrainian National Committee (*Ruthenisches National-Komitee*). The Prussian institution encouraged and materially supported the Ukrainian National Committee. Since both these institutions were nominally non-official, and the anti-Polish propaganda could not be treated as treason, because the State after all was Austrian, the Poles were unable to take direct measures against these intrigues; but in the trials of Russophil Ukrainians in Galicia for high treason the Polish Conservative jury acquitted the Russophils.

(*c*) *From the Outbreak of War to the Russian Revolution* (1914–17).—In the autumn of 1914 the Russian army occupied Eastern Galicia. Russian public opinion, hitherto ignorant of the existence of 'Ruthenians' in Eastern Galicia, was then instructed, and now became very Pan-Slav. The attitude of the first Russian Governor, Count Sheremetyev, was the outcome of circumstances that preceded the war. The small Russophil party of Ukrainians in Galicia and the Poles were left fairly undisturbed, while the Ukrainian Nationalists were persecuted. But with the appointment of Count George Bobrinski, cousin of the Pan-Slavist Vladimir Bobrinski, as Governor, and the Pan-Orthodox bishop, Eulogius, as Bishop of Galicia, all the Ukrainians in Galicia as well as the Poles began to suffer religious and political persecution. Polish schools were closed and the 'Prosvita' was suspended. From August 1914 the Ukrainian leaders, W. Wassilko, E. and K. Lewicki, and L. Baczynski, carried on negotiations with the Austrian and German authorities, aiming at the partition of Galicia and the union of Eastern Galicia with Volhynia and other parts of the Russian West Ukraine. The russifying policy of the Russian Administration furthered this agitation.

In the spring of 1915 the Russian retirement began, and by the autumn Galicia was cleared of Russians. Under the pressure of the Ukrainophils, Count Sturgkh assured K. Lewicki at a secret interview on September 7, 1915, that Eastern Galicia and such part of the Russian Ukraine as was or might be under Austrian occupation would be united in an autonomous Ukrainian state attached to Austria, with, at the outset, Austrian officials and language.[1] The Russian policy in Galicia was severely criticized by the Liberals and even by the Central party in the Duma on August 28, 1914, and September 10, 1915. N. Bobchev and T. Romanchuk, in the Russophil Ukrainian press, accused the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Ukrainophils) of being the result of German intrigue.[1] This 175 again gave rise to a pamphlet, by L. Tschelski, issued in Sofia (1915) by the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, entitled *Is the Ukrainian Movement a German Intrigue?* The Russian Government took severe measures against the members of the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, who, including the chief leader, Hrushevski, were banished to Siberia, or were forbidden to enter Russia from abroad.

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[1] 'Documents Ruthéno-Ukrainiens', in *Extraits du Journal de M. Olesnyckyj* (pp. 7, 8), published by the Bureau polonais des publications politiques (Paris, May 1919).

(D) FOURTH PERIOD: SINCE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

(*a*) *The Ukraine becomes independent.*—One of the 662 first questions which faced the Provisional Government 642 at the beginning of the Russian Revolution was the demand for an amnesty for the Ukrainian Nationalist offenders, who were allowed to return from Siberia and abroad. Next came the demand for Ukrainian autonomy and the appointment of a special Minister for Ukrainian Affairs, presented by a deputation sent from Kiev to Petrograd on April 6, 1917. Soon afterwards [646] the first Ukrainian National Congress was convened at Kiev (April 19–22), at which some 800 members representative of the *intelligentsia* and the Social Revolutionaries were present. They elected a Central Rada, and declared for an autonomous Ukrainian republic under a Russian federal republic. Professor Hrushevski was elected President. The territory [131] claimed for the Ukrainian state corresponded roughly to the western parts of the Governments of Lublin and Grodno, and the whole of the Governments of Kiev, Poltava, Kherson, Volhynia, Kharkov, Podolia, Yekaterinoslav, and Chernigov, and excluded the Austrian Ukraine. The Congresses of the Ukrainian Soldiers (May 5–7) and of the Ukrainian Peasants (May–June) supported the Rada at this time. But the Petrograd

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[1] In answer to a pamphlet by Tschelski, *No Liberator, but an Oppressor of Nations: How Russia freed the Ukraine.* L.L.U., Sofia, 1914.

668 Government refused to recognize the decisions of the 642 Rada, and thereby strengthened a group of separatists hitherto supported only by the second Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress (June 7). The Rada now issued (June 24) a *Universale*, proclaiming that henceforth the Ukrainian Rada would control Ukrainian affairs and work in federation with the All-Russian Parliament when this should be established; and on June 30 an executive body of the Rada, called the General Secretariat, was appointed.

This step caused anxiety to the Petrograd Government; and on July 12–14 two members of the Duma, Tereschenko and Tseretelli, and subsequently Kerenski, went to Kiev. While granting most of the Ukrainian demands, Kerenski opposed the demand for the formation of a Ukrainian army on the ground that it would mean the break-up of the Russian army. The favourable attitude adopted by Kerenski towards Ukrainian demands caused a split in the Provisional Government of Petrograd; and the Cadets left the Cabinet on July 16.

The reorganized Provisional Government decided to [669] grant autonomy to the Ukraine, but on July 19 a social revolution broke out in Kiev, and the help of the Provisional Government was sought by the Rada for the restoration of order. But before the formal recognition of Ukrainian autonomy by the Provisional Government, which took place on August 17, other riots broke out in Kiev, this time among the Russian or russified town population, who protested against the 'ukrainization' of South Russia. The recognition of the Provisional Government meant that, until the summoning of the Constituent Assembly, the General Secretariat of the Ukraine was the recognized authority controlling finance, commerce, industry, agriculture, labour, and other domestic affairs. All measures had to be submitted to the Provisional Government. The Ukraine was to consist of the Governments of Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, and Chernigov; the other Governments mentioned above could be included if

their *zemstvos* so desired. But this measure of autonomy 668
was not accepted. The Rada on August 24 declined 642
to send representatives to the National Council at Moscow, expressed the wish for a separate Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, and asked the Provisional Government to define more clearly its own position.

Meanwhile Russian public opinion, even in revolutionary circles, strongly resented the Ukrainian movement. The resentment was expressed in the communication of the Russian War Office to the *Russkoye-Slovo* of September 2, 1917, in which it was alleged that the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine was conducting espionage in Russia on behalf of Germany, and a separatist Ukrainian propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war, that it was in the pay of the German Foreign Office, and that it was giving help to the German armies. To this communication a reply was given by MM. Melenevski and A. Skoropis-Yolturovski, members of the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, on October 25, 1917, in Stockholm, in which it was stated that the Austrian and German Governments had no part in the foundation of the League, which had been created in Eastern Galicia with the help of the Ukrainian immigrants; that the League based its hopes on the victory of the Central Powers over Russia; that they expressed the wish that the Central Powers should occupy the Ukraine; that they hoped the Ukraine would be fully independent and essentially democratic; that they carried on a cultural war among the Ukrainian prisoners of war in Germany without the help of the Germans; that the German spy of Ukrainian nationality, Yermolenko, had no connexion with the League; and lastly, that the League accepted money from all friends of the Ukraine, including the German Government, and intended to raise a loan from the German Government.

Then came the fall of the Provisional Government. In the Kerenski-Kornilov affair of 1917 the General Secretariat as well as the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils of the Ukraine sent their loyal assurances to

618 642 the Provisional Government. The idea of forming part of a Russian federal republic was still powerful in the Rada; and on September 26, 1917, a conference of forty different nationalities had met at Kiev to discuss the question of local autonomies under a federal system. Preparations for a Constituent Assembly, which was to include 22 members from the Ukraine and 17 from the Don Cossacks, were set on foot; while propaganda was carried on by the ultra-nationalists and the internationalists, i.e. the Soviets, with a view to boycotting the Russian Constituent Assembly.

642 In November 1917, after Kerenski's Government had been replaced by the Bolshevik Soviets, the Ukraine on the whole was much more in favour of the latter than were the Don Cossacks, who formed on November 9 a confederation of a more conservative character. To save its position among the masses, the Rada underwent a rapid process of evolution, and on November 20 published a *Universale* of a radical character. It proclaimed the 'Ukrainian People's Republic', abolished all private ownership of land, introduced State control of production and an eight-hour day in all factories, removed the death penalty from the statute book, and finally expressed a hope that the Ukrainian National Republic would be federated with the Russian Republic. By doing this the Rada hoped to check Soviet interference; it failed to do so; and from December 19 serious differences between the Rada and the Soviet Government in
642 Petrograd became apparent. The Soviet Government
728 at Petrograd accused the Rada of giving support to the Cadets and of siding with the Don Cossacks in their hostility to the Bolsheviks; while the Rada declared itself a body elected by Revolutionary Democrats in the Ukraine, and refused to co-operate with the Bolsheviks or to send delegates with them to Brest-Litovsk. It finally declared, on December 24, that, as the Russian army was disorganized, it would take military measures for the defence of its borders. Some of the Ukrainian forces mobilized at that time joined

the Russian armies on the Rumanian and south- 642
western fronts. 728 The Soviet Government therefore began to organize the Red Guards against the Rada, which by that time had completed its negotiations with Germany, and on December 27 had sent the delegation of the Ukrainian Central Rada to Brest-Litovsk. The delegation was composed of Hrushevski, Holubowich, Vinnitchenko, and Petlura, while the intermediary between them and the Austro-German authorities was Wassilko, a member of the Reichsrat and Count Czernin's adviser on Ukrainian affairs.

On January 11, 1918, the delegates of the Ukrainian Republic were formally recognized at Brest by the Central Powers. This recognition was interpreted by the Rada as meaning the recognition of Ukrainian independence. Vinnitchenko boasted that the French Government had made a gold loan and printed paper money for the Ukraine, and that the Western allies would soon recognize its independence. (The Allied Mission to the Ukraine, sent in December 1917, was interpreted by the Ukrainians as implying such a recognition.) But, while successful at Brest, the Rada's authority in Kiev was shaken by the frequent risings of the Ukrainians of the Soviets (especially at Odessa on January 17 and 28); and the Petrograd Soviets supported the latter, demanding that they should be represented in the Ukrainian delegation. On January 26 the Government at Petrograd broke off relations with the Rada, 'until it is replaced by a Rada of Soviets'. To strengthen its position at Brest, the Rada, on January 28, declared, by 508 votes to 4, for the complete independence of the Ukraine.

(*b*) *German Occupation.*—On February 9 the 'Bread' 727
peace of Brest-Litovsk was signed between Germany, 642
Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand, and the 'Ukrainian People's Republic' (the Rada) on the other. At the same time, however, the report arrived that the Rada had been suppressed by Soviet troops, who declared it to be 'but a sad memory'. On February 20 the British Chargé-d'affaires in Russia

642 727 denied that Great Britain had recognized the Ukraine as an independent state; while Mr. Balfour gave the same assurance to a member of the Polish National Committee in London, that body having protested against the boundaries of the new state, and against the assigning of Cholm to the Ukraine.

Meanwhile the Russian Soviet army was supporting the Ukrainian Soviets; it forced the Rada to take refuge (March 1) in Jitomir (Volhynia). The Rada now sought protection from the Central Powers. Dr. Seidier made a statement to this effect on March 2 in the Austrian Reichsrat, and soon afterwards the Germans occupied the north-eastern and the Austrians the southern Ukraine. On March 14 the *Vossische Zeitung* declared the Rada to be re-established at Kiev, and ready to ratify the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. But in fact, although the Rada wanted German support in their fight against the Soviets, they could not act against their own people and agree to all the German demands. From the end of March the Germans fought the Soviet troops in the Ukraine, while on the other hand they seized the food supplies of the non-Soviet Ukrainians. The food crisis reached its climax in the middle of April, when the Rada ceased to support the armies of occupation.

Consequently, on April 28, the Ukrainian Rada Government was overthrown by the armies of occupation; and General Skoropadski, a Russian of Ukrainian descent, was placed at the head of affairs, with the title of Hetman. The Rada having refused to abdicate, the Germans on May 7 arrested its members, and attempted to secure the support of the great landowners in their efforts to obtain food. The German Field-Marshal von Eichhorn published a decree re-establishing private ownership of land on a large scale, disarmed the Ukrainian regiments, and organized an army obedient to himself. The opposition to the Germans and to the Hetman Skoropadski, who had dictatorial power and was supported by all who were in favour of the pre-revolutionary regime or were afraid of social

strife, inspired such desperate acts as burning stores of 642
grain, and aroused Socialist protests in the Austrian 727
Reichsrat. Meanwhile the Moscow Soviet Government came to an agreement with the Ukrainian Rada (May 23), and recognized the Ukraine as an independent state. On June 13–14 the Russo-Ukrainian armistice was formally signed.

On May 24 a peasant rising broke out all over the 642
Ukraine owing to the drastic measures of the German 727
military officials, who declared the country in a 669
state of siege; the rising was directed against the Germans and the big landowners, who regarded the German army as militia to be used against social disturbances and anarchy. The objects of this rising were stated in the manifesto of the Peasants' Congress at Kiev on June 7. The congress demanded (1) that a Hetman chosen by landowners should be deposed; (2) that the Ukraine should be a 'People's Republic'; (3) that no land should be returned to proprietors; and (4) that a Legislative Assembly should be convoked. This assembly the peasants agreed to support, appealing to the Germans not to oppose the People's Republic. However, the German troops in occupation continued to suppress strife among the peasants and to collect food by severe means, the result being that Von Eichhorn was assassinated in Kiev on July 30.

The Ukraine now became the battleground of five propagandist forces—pro-German, pro-Ally, pro-Russian Federalist, Bolshevik, and Separatist-Nationalist. The Austrian authorities arranged for the evacuation of Lvov by the Polish troops, and the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) seized the city (October 31) and held it for about a month, during which they are said to have had the help of the Ukrainians from Volhynia as well as of the Austrian officers. The Ukrainian (Ruthenian) National Council stated that it had taken over the administration of Eastern Galicia. The Polish Galician Liquidation Commission, established after the retirement of the Austrian authorities, opposed the Ukrainian claims.

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(c) *The Ukraine since the Armistice.*—The government of Skoropadski lasted for a short time after the signing of the armistice in Western Europe; and the conservative elements in the Ukraine, whether Ukrainians, Poles, or Russians, wished that the Western Allies should support Skoropadski and send a fresh army of occupation to replace the German army. Hoping for an Allied recognition, and under pressure from the peasants, Skoropadski introduced some democratic reforms, and dissolved the Germanophil cabinet of Lyssogub. The old Rada, however, reorganized itself into a Directory with Vinnitchenko and Petlura at its head, and replaced Skoropadski's government on December 14, 1918.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(A) Religious

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(*a*) *Christians.*—Prince Vladimir of Kiev (972–1015) accepted Christianity in its Byzantine form. The first Bishop of Kiev, Michael, a Syrian by birth, was sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on whom Kiev was dependent. After the final separation of the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054, the Church of Kiev kept up relations with the Pope for nearly a hundred years. Eventually, however, owing to the influence of Nicephorus, a Greek by birth, who was Metropolitan of Kiev, 1104–20, it followed Constantinople. After the Ukraine passed under Lithuanian and Polish rule, her church history became independent of that of the Great Russian Church. In 1354 the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed Alexis, a Russian by birth, as Metropolitan of Moscow; and in 1362, complying with the request of the Lithuanian prince (a pagan), he appointed another Metropolitan in Kiev for those Ukrainians who were subjects of Lithuania.

The idea of a Graeco-Roman national Church had been occasionally entertained in Western Ukraine; and in 1594 a Synod of Ukrainian Orthodox bishops, led by Rahosa the Metropolitan of Kiev, laid the foundation of the 'Uniat' Church, i. e. a Church of Byzantine ritual and Slavonic language, recognizing the jurisdiction of the Pope. The movement had a double character—national, for it originated with educated and patriotic clergy; and moral, for it aimed at improving the character of the clergy. The Synod of Brest in 1595–6 proclaimed the Union, which was supported by most of the Orthodox bishops, the bishops of Lvov and Przemysl being the last to join it. From the very beginning the Union had to face opposition on the one hand from the educated Ukrainian laymen, 795 led by Prince Constantine Ostrogski and the Cossacks, and on the other hand from the Polish Catholic bishops, who did not wish to recognize the Uniat bishops as their equals in rights. On the demand of the Orthodox part of the Ukraine, the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanus, ordained new bishops for the Ukraine to take the place of those who had joined the Uniat Church. At first these were not accepted by the Polish kings; but, under the pressure of Cossack demands, Ladislaus IV divided the bishoprics of the Ukraine between the Uniats and the Orthodox. The Orthodox bishops were installed in Przemysl, Lvov, and Lutsk. In their opposition to the Uniat Church, the Cossacks united with the Russians.

795 At the Polish Partition of 1795, all the sees were
798 Uniat except Lvov and Przemysl, and there were about 12,000,000 professing Uniats. In spite of the fact that all treaties between Poland and Russia (1773, 1775, 1788, 1793, 1795) had expressly guaranteed the toleration of Catholics of both rites, the persecution of Uniats by Russia began almost at once. In 1827 the four Uniat bishoprics of Vilna, Brest, Polotsk, and Lutsk were made into two, the Lithuanian and White Russian. In 1833 forcible conversion was introduced; and in 1839 a sham petition was addressed to the Russian Government by a Uniat priest, Joseph Siemaszko, asking that the Uniat Church should be restored to communion with the State religion. Wholesale massacres and banishments to Siberia began; the last Uniat Bishop of Chołm, Kalinski, was exiled, and a Galician apostate, Popiel, was installed in his place. In 1875 the Union was officially suppressed.

The attitude of the Poles to the Union was changed after the Polish Partitions. The Catholic clergy and people in Russian Poland supported the Uniats in their refusal to attend the Orthodox Church; the Uniats were officially known as 'non-Christians', though unofficially their spiritual needs were attended to by the Uniat or Catholic clergy. The Uniat Church in Galicia supported their countrymen across the

frontier. After the proclamation of religious toleration 795
in 1905, about 200,000 Ukrainians immediately de- 798
clared themselves Uniats, so that the Russian Government soon found it necessary to restrict the scope of the proclamation. Though the Uniats in Russia were forbidden to join the Catholic Church, many of them became Catholics or sectaries. The last Russian persecution of the Uniat Church took place during the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1915, when the Russian bishop, Eulogius, started a regular campaign to replace Uniat priests by Orthodox clergy, and Uniat Ukrainian by Russian Orthodox schools. Many Uniat priests were banished to Siberia; and the Uniat Metropolitan, Szeptycki, was exiled to a Russian monastic prison. It is uncertain whether the Uniat Church has been gaining ground outside the provinces
of Chołm and Polesia. As no statistics have been 795
taken in Russia since the decree of religious toleration 112
in 1905, it is difficult to give a correct estimate of the number of members of the Russian Orthodox Church, but their percentage varies from 75 to 93 in the various Governments of the Russian Ukraine. The Great-Russian sect of the *Raskolniki* (Old Believers) found refuge in the Governments of Kharkov (0·1 per cent. of the population) and Chernigov (0·9 per cent.).

The number of Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles, is higher in the west (in Volhynia the Poles in 1897 formed 6·16 per cent. of the population), but they are only slightly more numerous than the Lutheran Protestants (in Volhynia 5·73 of the population), who are German colonists.

Of great social importance are the peasant sects, of 795
which the chief in the Ukraine is the *Shtunda* (from 798
Stunde, since they gather at a definite hour). The [177]
doctrines of this Lutheran sect, which originated in Württemberg in 1705, were brought to South Russia by the Württemberg merchants, as the Danzig merchants, who came here after the partitions of Poland, brought with them the teaching of the Mennonite sect. Since 1870 it has been oppressed officially by the Russian

795 Government. The centres of the Shtundists are in the
798 Kherson Government (the districts of Yelisavetgrad and Odessa), in the Kiev Government (the districts of Tarashchansk, Skirsk, and Zvenigorodsk), in the Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, and Poltava Governments, and to a less extent in Chernigov, Podolia, and Bessarabia. In their boycott of official churches, ikons, and priests, of military service, and to a great extent of the Government itself, the Shtundists are akin to other sectaries. One branch of Ukrainian sectaries combines the teaching of the Shtundists and that of the Baptists, and are called Neo-Baptists. The sectaries in the Ukraine, as elsewhere, were suppressed by the Russian Government, but those who have studied the question (e.g. Prugavin[1]) state that they number more than 20,000,000.

793 *Position of the Clergy.*—On the whole it is true that the Uniat clergy in Eastern Galicia, Cholm, Polesia, and wherever the Uniat Church is found, as well as the leaders of the sects in the other parts of the Ukraine, exercise enormous influence over religious and social
554 life. The persecutions they have undergone have strengthened their prestige among the peasants and even among the *intelligentsia.* The influence of the Russian Orthodox clergy, though many of them have been of Ukrainian nationality, has been limited to the religious sphere, since socially they have been generally regarded as Government officials by the peasants and still more by the *intelligentsia.*

The clergy in the Ukraine are on the whole less educated than in Great Russia, i. e. they are mostly 'seminarists', not 'academicians'. The Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, once known for its learning, has degenerated into a monastery in which some of the monks are illiterate. For the last twenty-five years the highest positions all over the Empire have been in the hands of the monastic clergy; and there was acute hostility between them and the secular clergy, who in

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[1] See V. Anderson, *Old Believers and Sectaries*, Petrograd, 1908 (Russ.); also T. I. Buthevich, *Survey of Russian Sects and their Creeds*, Kharkov, 1910 (Russ.).

the Ukraine were mostly of the 'seminarist' type and 793
often of Ukrainian nationality, and hence of peasant descent. In the Ukraine the secular clergy were, if anything, more popular than the monastic.

(*b*) *Jews.*—Next in number to the Orthodox are the 795
Jews. Records make it clear that since the seventeenth 798
century the Ukraine has been the centre of the Jewish 186
'pogrom' movement, and is more anti-Semitic than any other East-European country. A Hebrew-Jewish scholar, Nathan of Zaslavl, has left a document[1] containing the record of terrible atrocities perpetrated by the Ukrainians and Cossacks on the Jews during the Cossacks' War against Poland. The 'pogroms' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may appear less cruel; but, though they were organized by the Russian secret police, it has been proved in the lawcourts that the local population was quite ready to fall in with the suggestions of these agents.[2] The reasons for this hatred are partly economic—for the Jews are very successful middlemen between the Ukraine and other countries, and hence in possession of capital, which they lend at a high rate to the peasant—but are also racial, since the hatred between these two races is stronger than that between either Poles or Great Russians and the Jews. All the traditions of the steppe-country peasant are opposed to those of the Jewish townsman. This is shown by the facts that there is hardly any mixed Jewish-Ukrainian population, and that the Jews live chiefly in the towns and industrial settlements where Russians and Poles predominate. The Jews came to the Ukraine on the first wave of colonization from Poland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

According to data obtained in 1897, the percentage 795
of the Jewish population in the Governments of the 162
Ukraine was as follows: Volhynia, 13·2 per cent.; Podolia, 12·24 per cent.; Kiev, 12·09 per cent.; Kherson, 12 per cent.; Chernigov, 5 per cent.;

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[1] *Jawein Mesula: a Chronicle of Events from 1648 to 1652.* First printed in Vienna, 1656.

[2] I. Luchitski, *Legal Speeches concerning the Jewish Pogroms*, Kiev, 1908 (in Russian).

795 Yekaterinoslav, 5 per cent.; Poltava, 4 per cent.;
162 Taurida, 4 per cent.; Kharkov, 0·5 per cent. only.

Like the Orthodox Church, the Jewish community has its sects. There are two such sects in the Ukraine; and their members exercise a great moral influence, and form a bridge between the Turkish and Jewish populations of the Ukraine. They are called Karaimy and Krymchaki, and live chiefly in the towns of the Taurida and Kherson Governments. They number about 12,000. These people, using mostly Tatar dialects, are supposed to be descendants of Jewish pre-Christian colonies in the Crimea and the Turkic Khazars of the Middle Ages, who were of Jewish faith. The Karaimy disapprove of the Talmud, and base all their beliefs on the Law of Moses. They differ from other Jewish
577] communities in their cleanliness, their absolute honesty in business, and their great sense of social duties. Hence their wealth is evenly distributed in their communities.

(c) *Mohammedans.*—The largest Mohammedan colony is found in the Taurida government (187,940, or 13 per cent.), but their schools are less efficient and their culture is much lower than that of the Mohammedans of the Volga or of Turkestan.

(B) EDUCATIONAL

161 The last census, taken in 1897,[1] gives the following
212 figures:

Name of Government.	*Total population in 1,000's.*	*No. of literates in 1,000's.*	*Per cent. of literates.*
Podolia	3,018	450	14·5
Kharkov	2,492	384	15·4
Poltava	2,778	446	16·1
Volhynia	2,989	493	16·5
Kiev	3,559	598	16·8
Chernigov	2,298	402	17·5
Yekaterinoslav	2,114	433	20·5
Kherson	2,734	657	24·1
Taurida	1,448	380	26·2
	23,430	4,243	average 18·2

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[1] From *The Ukrainian Movement as a Stage in South Russian Separatism*, Shchegolev (Kiev, 1912), p. 364.

The high percentage of literates in Novorossiya 212
(Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav) is due to the 871
presence of German colonists. In ten Great-Russian Governments (Pskov, Penza, Simbirsk, Tambov, Smolensk, Orel, Kaluga, Riazan, Tula, and Nijni Novgorod) there are 16,302,000 inhabitants, of whom 16·9 per cent. can read and write. Since the census of 1897, education in the Ukraine has been rapidly spreading, thanks chiefly to the *zemstvos*, who supported about half the existing schools. In the Government of Poltava the *zemstvos* spent in 1900 as much as 20 per cent. of their income on education. According to the statistics of Yasnopolski, who bases his calculations on the reports of the Central Statistical Committee in Petrograd, and brings his figures down to 1910, the percentage of literates is as follows: Taurida, 38 per cent.; Kherson, 35; Yekaterinoslav, 29; Chernigov, 25; Kiev, 24; Kharkov, 23; Poltava, 23; Volhynia, 23; Podolia, 20.

Within the territories of the nine Governments which 873
form the Ukraine, there are three universities and several higher educational institutions in Odessa, in Kiev, and in Kharkov. The language and administration are Russian, though Kiev has Chairs of Ukrainian Language and History, recently instituted; and they all gather, especially at Kiev, a fair number of Ukrainian scholars. The three university towns form centres round which other schools are grouped. Kiev is the centre for the South-west Territory, i. e. the Governments of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia; Odessa is the centre for Novorossiya, i. e. the Governments of Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav; and Kharkov is the centre for Malorossiya, i. e. the Governments of Chernigov, Poltava, and Kharkov. On the whole, education is most advanced in Novorossiya, and Odessa has the greatest number of schools (420), secondary and primary. The Government of Kharkov is very poor in schools, though Kharkov itself possesses about 111; next come the Governments of Podolia, Poltava, and Volhynia.

372 In the primary schools only Russian was taught until recently, but in those kept by the *zemstvos* and Ukrainian societies Ukrainian is now also taught. In the secondary schools, which exist only in the larger towns, French and German instruction is given. In the German colonies there are German local schools (private), mostly primary. In the large towns of the western Ukraine and in the Polish colonies and on the large estates there are Polish private schools, which have been officially recognized since 1905. It is impossible to estimate the number of Ukrainians who went to universities, because many of them went to Russian universities outside the Ukraine or to foreign universities; but they can only have been a small percentage of the total number of literates.

204 The majority of the newspapers in the Ukraine were Russian. Each Government and each district had its own *Viedomosti*; and there were many Russian papers in Kiev. There were fewer Polish papers, chiefly in Kiev and the western Ukraine. The Germans had local papers in their colonies. The Ukrainians had, up to 1917, some eighteen newspapers, but some of them were printed abroad. In Kiev there were twelve Ukrainian papers, the most popular of which, *Rada*, was started in 1906; in Mohilev one, in Kharkov one, in Yekaterinoslav one, in Moscow one. One of the earliest Ukrainian papers printed abroad was the *Ruthenische Revue*, subsequently called *Ukrainische Rundschau*, started in 1903 in Vienna. This list does not include the Ukrainian newspapers printed in Eastern Galicia in a slightly different language and character.

(C) Political

171 Political conditions in the Ukraine were very much like those in other parts of the Russian Empire, except for special restrictions aiming at russification, e. g. the refusal to appoint the inhabitants of non-Russian districts to important Government positions. But the russification was not so thorough as in Finland

or Poland, because before 1905 opposition to the Russian Government was less marked. Besides, many Russian Liberals, even of official position, treated the Ukrainian movement as an interesting variation of Russian life. 177

(D) Social

The class divisions into titled aristocracy, nobles, townsmen, merchants, and peasants, existed as in other parts of the Russian Empire, but, roughly speaking, a different ethnic element corresponded to each social division. The titled aristocracy was mainly Polish in the western parts (with the name Polish Ukrainians) and Russian in the eastern. With but few exceptions, the same could be said of the class of landed nobles, in which the Great Russians formed the majority; Poles, Germans and others were the minority. The Ukrainian landed noble was almost unknown; and the townsmen of the large towns were also in a great majority non-Ukrainian, being chiefly Great Russians and Jews (in Berdichev the Jews form 78·4 per cent. of the population; in Yekaterinoslav, 40 per cent.), and, in the western Ukraine, Russian, Polish, German, Greek, &c. The Jews were mainly traders and shopkeepers, while the Great Russians and the foreigners were manufacturers. 565 563 184

But few of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* took part in the industrial life of the country, about one-third of them belonging to the professional classes, i. e. doctors, Government officials, lawyers, and teachers. The Ukrainian professional classes originated from the ex-Cossacks and the townsmen rather than from the peasants, since there is a great distinction between the peasants and other members of the community. The Ukrainian nobles, it must be remembered, have in most cases become russified, and partly also polonized. The distinction between the peasant and other classes is not based on economic grounds, for some peasants in the Ukraine are very rich. It lies chiefly in their cultural condition, in their education, or rather lack 565 [463]

565 of education, and in their occupations. The bulk [162] (86·4 per cent.) of the Ukrainians are peasants and agriculturists. The percentage of people living in the country is in the Government of Kharkov, 85; in Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 88; Chernigov, 91; Taurida, 80; Kherson, 70. The percentage of peasants is almost the same, e. g. Kharkov, 90; Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 87; Chernigov, 86; Taurida, 73; [163] Kherson, 61. The average increase in population is higher than in any other province in European Russia; consequently, though many peasants have become, during the last twenty-five years, workmen in the newly started industries, the general number of agricultural peasants remains unchanged.

421 *Land Tenure*[1].—While Great Russia is at present 428 a country of communal land-ownership (*mir*), in the 177 Ukraine or Little Russia individual or, strictly speaking, family ownership and communal ownership exist [556] together (cf. p. 78). The *mir* in Great Russia appears to have been introduced in the sixteenth century, when the Moscow Government established serfdom and imposed heavy taxation, for it was easier to make the whole village responsible for the taxes than the separate families. However, in the north or, properly speaking, Novgorod Russ. the land, as a general rule, belonged to one large family or clan, composed of from two to six houses (the owners of which bore the same name), and called *pyechishche* (large stove). The ownership was hereditary, and hence the land became more and more subdivided, so that families owned more or less according to the number of children. There was no readjustment of the land as in the case of the *mir*. The *pyechishche* of Novgorod was known in Kiev-Russ as *ognishche* (meaning a large fire); and the term *ognishchanin* (meaning a member of the *ognishche*) is found in the Kiev law (*Russkaya* 428 *Pravda*). Connected with that form of tenure is a custom, which even now is found sometimes in the Ukraine, of minorate, according to which the younger

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[1] See also p. 77.

son inherits his father's house, since the elder son has 428
started a new house and received his share during his father's life. If a member of the *ognishche* had not enough land, he migrated.

This old custom of family ownership was the basis 421
of the Cossack communities, which differed from the 177
mir in that, as the Cossacks gave little attention to 525
cultivation and paid no taxes, the re-allotment of their lands was not necessary, though in theory every Cossack had the same right to the land. However, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the 'elders' of the Cossacks began to appropriate more land than the commoners. After Russia had subdued the Ukraine, the commoners were turned into peasants (in 1763 and 1783), and the 'elders' were given titles of nobility in 1785. After the final introduction of serfdom into the Ukraine, the taxes were equally imposed, and therefore communal ownership on the Moscow lines was introduced, though it never had such success as in Great Russia. Remnants of *ognishches* still exist in the Governments of Chernigov and Poltava, whither it was brought by the Ukrainian colonists, though individual ownership is now predominant. In some cases, though each house owns some land privately, there are other lands, meadows, and fishing rights which belong to all the village community, and are re-allotted from time to time.

In the Ukraine, as it was immediately before the 421
war, all the land was divided into individual and communal property. The individual property consisted of (1) State lands, (2) Imperial family appanages, (3) Church and monastery lands, (4) town lands, (5) nobles' lands, and (6) lands belonging to others than nobles. The communal property was held by the peasant and village communities. Individual ownership prevails in the Governments of Yekaterinoslav (50·4 per cent. in 1905), Kherson (51·5 per cent.), Taurida (52·6 per cent.). Then come the Governments of the south-west, Volhynia (48·9 per cent.), Kiev (45·2 per cent.), Podolia (44·4 per cent.). The eastern

421 Governments have the smallest percentage of private ownership. Thus, in Kharkov, which contains the greatest number of Great Russians, only 35·8 per cent. of land is privately owned, and in Chernigov 41·7 per cent. The Poltava Government forms an exception; and, as it is a Government in which the Ukrainian population forms between 93 and 95 per cent., it is worth noticing that individual property still forms 45·1 per cent., even though the Stolypin reforms tended to give every facility for the introduction of communal ownership. But, though the Taurida, Kherson, and Yekaterinoslav Governments have the highest percentage of land individually owned, it is owned mostly by the nobles, especially in Yekaterinoslav (67·2 per cent.) and Kherson (63 per cent.), and less by the peasants (Yekaterinoslav, 23·7 per cent., and Kherson, 13·8 per cent.).

Taking into account both the individual and the communal land of the peasants, we find that only in the Governments of Kharkov (59 per cent.), Chernigov (53 per cent.), and Poltava (52 per cent.) do the peasants own above half of the arable land. In Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiev, they own between 40 and 48 per cent.; in Yekaterinoslav, 45 per cent.; while in Taurida and Kherson, where only about half the population is Ukrainian and town life is well developed, the percentage is 37.

The amount of land assigned to each family by the
[671] Emancipation Law of 1861 was between three and eight acres, though sixteen acres are necessary to support a family. Since then the population has increased by 43 per cent., but the land available for peasant owners has only increased by 20 per cent. (in 1910). This fact has compelled the peasants to rent land, and lies at the bottom of all economic unrest. In the Government of Poltava, where the situation is most acute, some 60 per cent. of the peasants own only from one to three *desyatines*[1] of land, and as few as 4 per cent. have more than five *desyatines*. In the Governments

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[1] One *desyatine* = 2·7 acres.

of Volhynia and Podolia conditions are better, and the peasants have larger holdings, though only 16 per cent. own above five *desyatines*; in Kharkov, 33 per cent. own above five *desyatines*. In no place do the Ukrainian peasants equal in land-ownership the German and Czech colonists. The average holding among the German colonists is from 10 to 12 *desyatines*, and they specialize in cattle-breeding. The Czechs are concentrated in south-western Volhynia (in the districts of Dubno, Rovno, and Lutsk); and their average holding is 13 *desyatines*. The peasants' holdings are in a striking contrast to the big estates. In the Kiev Government there are some 43 estates of above 5,000 *desyatines* each, mostly owned by the nobles (some of them descendants of the old independent dukes, *knaz*) of Russian, Polish, or German nationality. 421

About 10 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Governments of Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Taurida, Kiev, and Chernigov are occupied in industries other than agricultural. Trade occupies between 6 and 7 per cent. of the population in the Governments of Kherson, Kiev, Podolia, and Taurida. 162

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Ukrainian Nationalism.—The feeling of nationality, as it exists to-day, dates from Chmielnicki's rising in 1648. The old history of Kiev-Russ is common to Great Russians, White Russians, and the Ukrainians (Little Russians), and has been continued after the Tatar invasions chiefly in Great Russia, while the Ukraine ever since has been subject to one of her neighbours. Since Chmielnicki's time, the Ukrainian nationality has made progress only in one direction, i.e. in producing a small but energetic *intelligentsia*, which does not consider itself Russian or Polish in addition to being Ukrainian, though it is obliged to seek its higher education in Russia, Poland, and other foreign countries. The national feeling of this class is 136 565

186 different from that of the bulk of the peasants, whose
565 local differences in dialects and customs are sufficiently great to obscure the idea of national unity understood by the *intelligentsia*. Not only has the Dnieper peasant no conception of a Ruthenian in Eastern Galicia, but he knows very little more about the Don or Kuban Ukrainian. But all these peasants, now as in the time of Chmielnicki, are conscious of their social and economic disabilities, and also of the fact that all the business and management of the country is in the hands of rich and educated foreigners.

Hence, the so-called feeling of nationality of the Ukrainian peasant is based on social unrest; and nationalist enthusiasm was aroused on that ground by the Rada and the Soviets of 1917, as it had been by Chmielnicki 250 years before. As soon as Chmielnicki's rising became political rather than social in aim, it failed, and even its foreign supporters did not save it. The same can be said about the nationalist movement of the Rada Directory of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia.* It went down before the Soviets because it was too political, while the Soviets are more intent upon social conditions.

The military strength of the Ukrainian nationalists is less now than it was in the time of Chmielnicki, since the strong military class of original Cossacks on which Chmielnicki relied either disappeared through successful Russian repressions or else amalgamated with the present Cossack community of the Don and the Kuban, which is only partly Ukrainian and has different political and social predilections. On the other hand, the rivalry between Russia, Austria, and the Poles, and the respective propaganda of the three rivals, have created among the *intelligentsia* of the Ukraine a feeling of self-confidence and a political programme that surpass Chmielnicki's and Mazeppa's dreams. In the struggle between Nationalist and Socialist interests, the bulk of the population has in the last three years given precedence to the latter; and it is still uncertain whether the peasants will care to support the

ideals of the *intelligentsia*, if the latter cannot provide 186
them with the economic advantages to which they 565
aspire.

The *Ukrainian territory* claimed by the propagandist literature, i. e. from San to Don, never formed a political unit, either independently or under the sway of any empire. It is a well-defined geographical unit with most favourable economic conditions, but the people living in these lands do not form a homogeneous nation of one linguistic, social, and cultural type. The essentially Ukrainian country lies on both sides of the Dnieper. In the Don and Kuban regions, the Ukrainian colonists were preceded by the Great-Russian colonists, in Eastern Galicia by the Poles. But it is true that during the time of the greatest Russian oppression Eastern Galicia played the part of Piedmont for the *intelligentsia* from the Russian Ukraine. The nine [162] Governments grouped by the Russian Administration into (1) South-west Territory (Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev), (2) Malorossiya (Chernigov, Poltava, and Kharkov), and (3) Novorossiya (only Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav out of the five Governments of Novorossiya), have a population which is preponderantly Ukrainian in the rural districts; in the towns the Ukrainians are outnumbered by Jews, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Germans, Italians, &c.

It is remarkable how small a part is played by the 184
intelligentsia in industry and trade, in the Church, and 565
in legal and educational institutions. All Ukrainians are agriculturists, but in most cases they are merely labourers, not concerned with the management of agricultural industries. Since 1905, however, the co-operative societies have brought to the Ukrainian peasant the social education which the *mir* gave to the Great-Russian peasant in the two last centuries. The claim, therefore, that these nine Governments are Ukrainian means that people speaking various Ukrainian dialects and having similar customs inhabit them, though, so far, they have not managed it politically, socially, or culturally, and are hardly likely to do

565 so efficiently without the help of educated foreigners
184 for some generations to come.

000 *The Ukraine and Great Russia.*—The future of the Ukraine affects Great Russia in the first instance. If the Ukraine is permanently severed from Great Russia, the latter will have to limit itself to the 'Moscow-Siberian' Empire, for it is hardly likely that any other native states formed within the limits of the former Russian Empire (Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, the North Caucasian Republic, White Russia) would then belong to her. There seems to be a similarity between these states and the Ukraine, in that they all refuse to recognize Russian suzerainty, though they may possibly join Russia as states with equal rights. The Ukraine is the largest and richest of these states, so that she might play a determining part in their negotiation with Great Russia if she produces the necessary statesman. On the other hand, small as these other states are, they are more homogeneous ethnically and more advanced culturally than the Ukraine, and are able, with the exception of White Russia, to carry on political and economic affairs by themselves.

The Ukraine and Poland.—Poland and the Ukraine are neighbours who supplement each other in the economic sphere; and Poland has many men of education and enterprise. But good relations depend largely on the issue of the political conflict within the Ukraine. The Ukrainian nationalists claim Galicia as far as the River San, while the Poles, especially the Galician Poles, claim it all for Poland. The ethnic boundary is roughly along the River Bug. In the Eastern Galician problem lies the most serious danger of quarrel.

563 The next interest of Poland is in her minorities in Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiev. They consist of noble landowners or professionals in the towns, some of them men whose families have lived there for the last four or five centuries. The reverse is the case of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The Polish minorities in the Russian Ukraine are much smaller, but in

education and social standard they have a more 563
important position. The satisfaction of the claims of the Polish 'historic minority' will depend on the form of the future Government in the Ukraine, and is bound up with similar claims on the part of the Great-Russians and other nationalities.

The Ukraine and Rumania.—The Ruthenians of the 600
Bukovina and of Northern Hungary are more closely related to the Eastern Galicians than to the Russian Ukrainians. Though their number does not reach much more than a quarter of a million, the Ukrainian propagandists have, from 1914 onwards, claimed the Bukovina and also parts of Northern Hungary. Their claims conflict here with those of the Rumanians. ~~The~~ desire of Rumania and Poland to have a common frontier is thus opposed both by Galician Ukrainians and by Russian Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukraine and the Jews.—Though hating the Jews, 563
the Ukrainian nationalists need them economically as people of superior financial capacity and economic education. As there is no class of Ukrainians which could rival the Jews in these respects (though other countries with large Jewish minorities, e. g. Poland and Rumania, have evolved such a class in the last fifty years), the Ukrainians have so far given in to the the Jewish demands[1] for racial autonomy.

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[1] After the Congress of the Representatives of the peoples of former Russia (September 27–30, 1917, at Kiev), the Rada issued on January 9, 1918, a 'Law concerning National Personal Autonomy', in virtue of which Great-Russians and Poles and Jews have been offered such autonomies. Skoropadski suppressed it, but the Directory revived it in December 1918.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

000 IN general the internal means of communication in the Ukraine are in a defective and backward state. They all require heavy expenditure and extensive works to bring them up to a standard approaching that of Western Europe.

(*a*) *Roads*

491 The Ministry of the Interior groups the roads under three heads: (1) metalled roads, (2) roads paved throughout their length, and (3) non-paved or soil [653] roads. The metalled roads are constructed and kept up by the State. There are 2,254 miles of first-class road in the Ukraine, of which 923 miles are in the Government of Yekaterinoslav.

The principal lines of first-class roads are as follows:

From Kiev *via* Jitomir, Rovno, and Lutsk to Kovel, 260 miles. This road continues to Brest-Litovsk. There are branch roads from Rovno and Lutsk to Dubno, each about 30 miles in length, and from Dubno a road leads to Krzemenietz, some 20 miles distant.

From Kamenets Podolsk in a northerly direction to Proskurov and Staro-Konstantinov.

From Kiev in a northerly direction to Chernigov, thence to Mohilev and Vitebsk. The length from Kiev to the boundary of the Government of Chernigov is 150 miles.

From Kharkov northwards towards Kursk and Moscow. Thirty miles of this road are in the Government of Kharkov.

The remaining lengths of metalled road are mostly

in the Government of Yekaterinoslav in the Donets 491
coal and iron region.

The second-class roads, described as ‘ paved throughout ’, have a mileage of 953. They are under the care of the *zemstvos*, but the expenditure bestowed upon them is small.

The third class of roads, described as ‘soil’ roads, has by far the greatest mileage, their length being 54,148 miles. In no country of western Europe would they be classed as roads, being merely tracks from point to point, worn by the traffic of the district. They are under the care of the *mirs*, or communes, whose budgets admit of the expenditure of very small sums on their upkeep.

As other means of communication are also few and 491
unsatisfactory, the lack of good roads would be a fatal 489
drawback to any development of the country, were it not for the fact that during three or four months of the year traffic by sledge is almost everywhere possible without special regard to the existence of a road or even a track. As during this period agricultural operations are suspended, an opportunity is afforded of transporting a vast quantity of goods.

(*b*) *Rivers and Canals*

The rivers of the Ukraine include the middle and 487
lower courses of two large rivers, the Dnieper and the [133]
Dniester. Both are navigable for long distances, and should be of great importance as means of communication. Each, however, suffers from a serious natural defect which much curtails its usefulness, and to remedy which no adequate measures have been taken.

For purposes of navigation the river *Dnieper* falls into two sections known as ‘ above the rapids ’ and ‘ below the rapids ’. Between Yekaterinoslav and Alexandrovsk are ten rapids, which are very dangerous and completely prevent navigation. Timber rafts are floated down, but the occupation of steering them is considered most hazardous and is entrusted to local pilots specially trained. Some attempt at improving

487 the channel was made early in the nineteenth century, but proved abortive. Proposals to canalize this section 487 have so far had no result. From Loev to Yekaterinoslav, 505 above the rapids, there is passenger traffic, some goods traffic, and a vast traffic in rafted timber. Though some of the timber is floated down the rapids to Kherson, most is brought ashore at Yekaterinoslav, which receives annually some 160,000 tons of building timber, besides other classes of wood. Below the rapids the river is navigable from Alexandrovsk to the mouth.

487 Some of the tributaries of the Dnieper are navigable for some distance from their junction with the main stream—the Pripet (Pripyat) for a short stretch; the Desna, which joins the Dnieper at Kiev, as far as the boundary of the Ukraine near Novgorod Sjeversk; the Psiol to a point west of Poltava; the Ingulets for about 25 miles.

501 487 The vessels employed in the Dnieper basin are of small tonnage (maximum about 300 tons), and the steamers are almost all either for passenger traffic or for towing the barges in which goods traffic is mainly carried. The maximum loaded depth below the rapids is 12 ft. 10 in.; above the rapids it is considerably less.

The *Dniester* is navigable for the whole of its length in the Ukraine from the Galician frontier to the mouth at Akkerman. There are many dangerous rapids, and the vessels used on the river are small, with a maximum draught of 3 ft. 9 in. The lagoon at the river mouth is so shallow that most vessels discharge at Varnitsa near Bender for carriage by rail to Odessa.

The *Southern Bug* is navigable from Vosnesensk to the mouth at Nikolaev. There is passenger traffic, and the size and draught of vessels is the same as on the Dnieper, below the rapids.

There is some navigation on the river *Styr* in Volhynia from Lutsk to Borobaza, also on the *Western Bug* from the Galician frontier to the point where it leaves the Ukraine, but in both cases only for rafts and vessels of very light draught.

The navigable length of the principal rivers is as 487
follows:

	For Shipping. Miles.	For Rafting only. Miles.
Dnieper . .	1,250	136
Desna . .	537	166
Dniester . .	521	35

All the above-mentioned waterways suffer in common 487
from four serious defects. (1) They are frozen for a 502
considerable period of the year. In the basin of the Dnieper traffic was only possible in the first ten years of this century for an average of 230 days above the rapids and 250 below. Other rivers are in a similar case. (2) The volume of water falls rapidly in summer, and in dry seasons lack of water impedes navigation seriously. (3) Wholesale cutting down of the forests on the banks has led to alteration of the beds of the rivers and the splitting up of the channels. (4) Works for the improvement of navigation scarcely exist, not even the most urgent having been undertaken.

The principal cargoes carried are breadstuffs, wood, 505
and coal. Cereals are embarked in great quantities 439
on the lower Dnieper and Southern Bug for shipment abroad from Kherson and Nikolaev. The upper Dnieper and the Dniester carry timber.

Navigable canals do not exist in the Ukraine. 503
Should the scheme for a Dvina-Dnieper canal materialize, it would have a noticeable commercial effect upon the towns of Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Alexandrovsk, and Kherson.

(c) *Railways*

Railway System.—There are in the Ukraine three 496
great railway centres, viz. Kiev, Kharkov, and Yekaterinoslav.

1. From Kiev a line runs in a westerly direction to Sarny and Kovel, continuing thence to Cholm and Warsaw.

A second line goes in a north-easterly direction to Bakhmach, thence *via* Kursk and Orel to Moscow.

496 From Bakhmach an alternative line runs *via* Bryansk to Moscow.

In a south-south-east direction a third line goes to Yelisavetgrad, Nikolaev, and Kherson.

A fourth line runs eastward to Poltava and Kharkov.

Lastly, a line in a south-west direction goes to Vinnitsa, whence a line runs westward to Proskurov and Kamenets Podolsk (with two short branches to the Galician frontier), and another line runs southward to Odessa.

2. From Kharkov a line runs northward to Byelgorod, Kursk, Orel, and Moscow.

Another goes in a south-east direction to the Donets coal and iron region, Novocherkassk, Rostov-on-Don, and the Azov ports.

A third line goes east and north-east *via* Kupyansk to Voronezh and Tambov.

A fourth goes southward to Pavlograd and Yekaterinoslav.

3. From Yekaterinoslav a line runs in a north-west direction to Alexandria, Byelaya Tserkov, Fastov, and Kiev.

A line to the Donets coal and iron region goes eastward, with branches to the Azov ports, Berdyansk, Mariupol, and Taganrog.

Another line runs south to Alexandrovsk, Melitopol, and the Crimea.

None of the three great railway centres, however, is touched by a long new line which runs from Bakhmach in the Government of Chernigov, *via* Piryatin, Cherkassi, and Vosnesensk, to Odessa, thus giving to a badly-served district an outlet for its share of the cereal export trade.

A network of short lines serves the Donets coal region and the Krivoy-Rog iron region, with connexions to Yekaterinoslav and the ports.

471 *Finance; Relations to Government.*—Five separate
472 concerns are interested in the Ukraine railways—the South-Western Railway, the Southern Railway, the Yekaterininsky Railway, the Moscow-Kiev-Voronezh

Railway, and the South-Eastern Railway. The first three belong to the State, and almost the whole of their mileage is in the Ukraine; the other two are privately owned, and some portion of their mileage is outside the Ukraine boundaries.

It is not possible to procure figures for the working of that proportion which is inside the limits of the Ukraine, and the figures for 1912, given below, are for the entire systems:

	Length of line. Miles.	*Gross receipts. Million roubles.*	*Nett receipts. Million roubles.*	*Weight carried. Million tons.*
South-Western Railway	2,604	73	30·4	15
Southern Railway	2,042	66	30·5	22
Yekaterininsky Railway	1,871	60	26·9	26
Moscow–Kiev–Voronezh Railway	1,652	37	16·2	10
South-Eastern Railway	2,168	55	24·6	11
Total	10,337	291	128·6	84

The Yekaterininsky line was constructed by the State; the Southern and South-Western lines were recently purchased from private owners.

The Moscow–Kiev–Voronezh Railway is a private concern with a share capital of £1,500,000. Debentures to the value of £35,000,000 have been issued at 4–4½ per cent. at different periods. The State has power to take over the line at any time on a basis agreed upon in the original concession. There is a State guarantee on the loan capital.

The South-Eastern Railway has only a portion of its line in the Ukraine, mainly in or near the Donets region. The share capital is about £3,000,000. Debentures and other loan capital amount to about £18,800,000. The State has power to purchase the line at short notice on terms fixed in the original concession. There is no State guarantee on the capital or loans. A number of lines in the Donets region,

496 formerly belonging to the South-Eastern Railway,
471 have been recently acquired by the State.

The money markets of Paris, London, and Amsterdam appear to be those principally interested in the loans of these railways; the financial circles of Berlin and Vienna are concerned in a lesser degree.

655 Up to the year 1889 railway rates in Russia were in
477 a state of chaos. The Government then took the matter in hand, and during the years 1893–4 inaugurated a system which, with modifications, has remained in use. The zone method is applied to both goods and passengers, with a diminishing rate for each additional zone entered by the traffic. Cereal rates received special consideration, and differential tariffs exist for the carriage to Black Sea and Azov ports of cereals destined for export. Preferential rates are also granted on coal, iron and manganese intended for export.

496 *Adequacy to Economic Needs; Possibilities of Expansion.*—Taken as a whole, the railways of the Ukraine are not adequate to the needs of the country. In the Donets region railway extension by private enterprise has kept fairly level with industrial needs, and new projects were recently being actively promoted. In the agricultural portion of the country, however, the lack of railways is a serious handicap to all kinds of industry. The greater portion of the mileage is single line, and the rolling stock is of poor capacity and not kept in good repair.

499 A number of lines are under construction in the Donets basin to link up existing ones or to serve new mines recently opened, and a new line is being constructed to connect Yekaterinoslav with Kherson and Nikolaev by a direct route.

000 A projected line is the Podolian Railway, which would run from Shepetovka to Kamenets Podolsk, a distance of 149 miles. By another project a railway running due north from Jitomir *via* Mosir and Mohilev to Vitebsk would give a direct main line between Petrograd and Odessa, which does not at present exist, a detour *via* Kiev being necessary.

The construction of light railways in agricultural districts would be of great benefit to the country, but no steps have as yet been taken towards this end. cco

(*d*) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

In organization the Russian postal system much resembles that of other European countries, but in extent it is considerably below the average standard. Rural districts are poorly served, although a special effort to improve their facilities has recently been made. Russia is a member of the Universal Postal Union. 205

Owing to delay and loss of ordinary correspondence, an immense quantity is sent by registered post, especially commercial correspondence, but also newspapers and periodicals.

Parcel post and the sending of goods 'cash on delivery' are in working, but the regulations as to packing, &c., are minute and very vexatious, though necessary to prevent theft in transit.

The facilities for transmitting money through the post are freely made use of, particularly by peasants working at a distance from their homes. In 1910 there were over 40,000,000 dispatches of this kind, their total value being upwards of £200,000,000.

Telegraphs.—Of the total length of telegraph wire for public use in Russia, more than one-third is owned by the private railway companies, the remainder by the postal department. Charges are low, but the service is moderate. Much use is made of 'urgent' telegrams at triple rates to ensure prompt and correct delivery. 206 471

Telephones.—The telephone system is fairly well developed in towns in the Ukraine. Private enterprise first entered the field, a company worked by the Bell Telephone Syndicate obtaining a concession for an installation at Odessa in 1895. Shortly afterwards the State established systems at Kiev, Kharkov, and other towns. Still later the *zemstvos* in certain districts interested themselves, and many systems

206 471 have been opened and worked under their auspices and control. The most notable development has been in the districts of Bakhmut (Government of Yekaterinoslav), Lebedyenski (Kharkov), and Lokhivitski (Poltava). Mariupol and district has communication with Bakhmut and other places on the Donets coalfield. Otherwise trunk communication is confined to a line connecting Odessa, Nikolaev, and Kherson.

The instruments of private telephone installations are usually of the Bell Co.'s make. The State and the *zemstvos* have generally installed instruments made by Ericsson, Stockholm.

(2) External

(*a*) *Ports*

504 *Accommodation.*—The Ukraine is not lacking in good natural ports on the Black Sea: Odessa, Nikolaev, and Kherson are capable of handling great quantities of traffic. On the Azov Sea, Berdyansk and Mariupol share the trade, but in their case purely artificial harbours have had to be constructed at great expense, as the coast has no natural harbour.

There are no tides, any variations of depth of water being caused by wind of great force or long persistence from one quarter.

Odessa is the most frequented port of the Russian Black Sea coast. There is a good depth of water in the bay, but it is much exposed to the two most dangerous winds which blow on the coast, viz. the south and the south-east. The outer harbour is formed by a mole known as the eastern mole, which has a curve to the eastward, and a detached breakwater 1,400 yds. in length parallel with the shore. The eastern entrance has 24–30 ft. of water, and the western 17 ft., and both have an entrance width of 300 yds. This outer harbour is safe from all winds, and gives commodious anchorage.

The inner harbour is formed by five moles which divide it into four parts. The two western moles form the Imperial or Pratique port, the two eastern 504 moles the Quarantine port, the intervening spaces forming the New and Middle harbours. Three-quarters of a mile to the northward is the Petroleum harbour, sheltered by a long mole. Vessels can load up to 26 ft. in the New harbour, up to 21 ft. in the Middle harbour, and up to 24 ft. in the Petroleum harbour.

There is quayage of 4,550 ft. in length in the Pratique harbour, 3,245 ft. in the New harbour, 4,550 ft. in the Quarantine harbour, and 900 ft. in the Petroleum harbour. There is adequate crane-power and railway accommodation alongside the quays, with extensive warehouses and two large grain elevators. There are two floating cranes, each of 25 tons capacity. The port has a floating dry-dock, 381 ft. long, 63 ft. wide, and 19 ft. 6 in. in depth, with a lifting capacity of 4,800 tons. There are two patent slips for small vessels and a repair yard for light repairs.

Many improvements have been projected, including an additional breakwater for the outer harbour and longer quayage in the Middle and Petroleum harbours.

Nikolaev is a river-port situated on the eastern bank of the Southern Bug. There is a depth of 25 ft. in the river channel up to the town. The granite quay of the commercial harbour is 3,850 ft. in length, and has 26 ft. of water alongside. There are two grain elevators and a good number of cranes. The Cabotage harbour is dredged to a depth of 17 ft.; it is only used by coasters or vessels wintering in the port. A petroleum pier, 900 ft. long, with reservoirs adjacent, is situated above the town.

A new commercial quay, 2,400 ft. in length, was almost completed in 1914. Another, 1,650 ft. in length, was then in construction, but progress on it was reported to be slow.

The naval port and arsenal are situated on the [706] northern side of the town on the banks of the River Ingul. There is a depth of 25 ft. in the naval port. The heaviest marine repairs can be undertaken.

Kherson is situated on the Dnieper, some 15 miles

504 from its mouth. There are two entrances from the sea, the Rvach and Zbarev channels, the former being 22 ft. deep, the latter only 10 ft. There are three loading berths at a quay, respectively 420, 125, and 425 ft. long, but vessels mostly load in the stream from lighters by means of floating cranes, of which there are 22, or by using their own winches. Vessels are allowed to load up to 23 ft. owing to a recent improvement in the channel. A new quay to accommodate 18 steamers is under construction.

Berdyansk roads are protected by a long semicircular sand-spit from all winds except the south-west. There is 14–16 ft. of water in the roads. The harbour is protected from all winds by a breakwater 700 yds. in length, parallel with and half a mile distant from the shore line in front of the town. A dredged channel, 1½ miles in length and 10½ ft. deep, leads up to the western end of the breakwater. Quay space is at present deficient, but a first-class port is projected and partially under construction. The harbour is being dredged to increase its general depth to 20 ft.

Mariupol harbour consists of an area on the open foreshore enclosed by two moles. The entrance channel is dredged to a depth of 24 ft., and the depth in the anchorage inside the moles is 22–26 ft. Within the harbour, 440 yds. from the shore line and parallel with it, is a breakwater 500 yds. long. The inner harbour inside this breakwater is reserved for vessels loading coal Against the quays, where rails run alongside, there is a minimum depth of 12 ft. and a maximum of 24 ft. There are two hydraulic elevators for loading coal, but much coal and all grain is loaded by hand, and mechanical appliances are greatly needed. Mariupol is considered a harbour of first-class importance, and extensive improvements of all kinds are projected.

505
431 *Nature and Volume of Trade.*—Odessa, Nikolaev, and Kherson export cereals and other agricultural products ; Nikolaev also exports great quantities of iron-ore and Kherson timber. Many vessels arrive in ballast

to carry these goods. The imports consist of machinery, 505
manufactured goods, colonial and tropical products, 439
and chemicals; Odessa also imports coal from the [438]
Donets region, which is shipped at Mariupol or Taganrog.

The export trade of Berdyansk is chiefly coal, iron-ore, and grain. Mariupol principally exports Donets coal. The imports of both places are general, but a large proportion consists of chemicals and particular minerals required in the iron and steel industry in the Government of Yekaterinoslav.

The number and tonnage of the vessels entering the above-mentioned ports in 1910, and the amounts of the exports and imports, are shown in the following table:

	Total vessels entered.	*Tonnage.*	*British vessels entered.*	*Tonnage.*	*Imports (tons).*	*Exports (tons).*
Odessa	848	1,596,217	174	388,136	566,743	1,736,029
Nikolaev	544	1,126,441	315	676,834	178,790	2,070,419
Kherson	152	330,260	131	288,789	104,693	844,919
Berdyansk	180	269,365	38	65,492	28,693	416,451
Mariupol	231	394,451	67	119,242	266,693	1,587,161
				Total	1,145,612	6,654,979

The respective values of the exports and imports are more difficult to ascertain, but the difference in value is certainly not so great as that in weight. For some years before the war, the value of the exports of the whole of Russia exceeded that of her imports by about 40 per cent., and the proportion for the Ukraine ports is probably about the same.

Adequacy to Economic Needs; Possibilities of Develop- 504
ment.—The Ukraine Black Sea ports would appear, on 155
the whole, to be equal to the demands put upon them; in fact, there is severe competition between Odessa and Nikolaev. The recent improvements at Nikolaev have inspired the Odessa authorities to apply for powers to carry out great extensions, but so far these have not been granted, as the central authorities held that there was no prospect of a good return on the capital that would be required.

504 The port of Kherson is handicapped by the expense and difficulty of keeping open a good channel from the mouth of the Dnieper to the town.

The two Azov ports are in a somewhat congested state, and need additional quay space, loading appliances, and powerful ice-breakers. Their importance for the export of coal and iron-ore as well as of grain is recognized, and it is understood that large sums would be forthcoming to effect improvements.

Two other ports in the Ukraine which are very suitable for development are Ochakov, on the north bank of the Dnieper–Bug estuary, and Shadovsk, which is situated in a land-locked bight a few miles west of the isthmus of Perekop. At present neither is touched by any railway, and they offer no facilities to shipping; but they are so favourably situated that their development at reasonable cost would probably be more beneficial to the Ukraine than expensive improvements at Odessa and Kherson.

(*b*) *Shipping Lines*

505 Before the war Odessa was visited by regular lines of steamers with passenger services, and the other ports by 'tramps' exclusively.

There are several Russian-owned lines. The Russian Volunteer Fleet Association, a subsidized undertaking, made regular voyages between Odessa and Vladivostok with a view to developing trade between Russia and her possessions on the Pacific. This line, which has a fleet of 70 vessels, with a tonnage of about 150,000, is not a commercial success.

The Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Co. provided passenger services in the Black and Azov Seas, and had other lines to Mediterranean ports. Its fleet consisted of 65 vessels, with a tonnage of 150,000.

The Russian Transport and Insurance Co. had a fleet of ten vessels, mostly tramps, with a tonnage of 12,000.

Peter Regier & Son had nine tramp steamers, of a total tonnage of 22,000.

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The Russian Danube Steam Navigation Co. traded from Odessa to Danube river ports. It had a fleet of eleven vessels, with a tonnage of 9,000. 505

The following foreign lines had regular sailings to Odessa: Thos. Wilson, Sons & Co., thrice weekly, from Hull; J. R. Ellerman, Ltd., fortnightly, from Liverpool; James Moss & Co., every four weeks, from Liverpool; the Messageries Maritimes, fortnightly, from Marseilles; and the Deutsche Levante Linie, monthly, from Genoa.

Tramp steamers of many nationalities are attracted in great numbers to Ukraine ports in the autumn for the shipment of the cereal crop, and there is seldom any lack of cargo space.

The foreign lines with regular services appear capable of meeting the normal demand on their cargo space. The Russian lines require Government support, as shipping under the Russian flag is not as a rule commercially successful.

(c) *Telegraphic Communication*

Telegraphic communication with foreign countries is dependent mainly on cable lines not situated in the Ukraine, which has only one cable, from Odessa to Constantinople, the joint property of the Indo-European Telegraph Co. and the Eastern Telegraph Co. Telegrams for the East are sent *via* the Kertch station of the Indo-European Telegraph Co.; those for northern Europe or America, *via* Petrograd and thence by various cable lines. 208

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) *Supply of Labour; Emigration and Immigration* 464

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The line of cleavage between agricultural and other labour is not so sharp in the Ukraine as in most other communities. The claims of agriculture are the greater by far, but the increase in the number of landless peasants who find it difficult to live in the country

464 districts through the long winter has led to the crea-
[166] tion of a large class who migrate according to the
season, working for wages on the land in summer and
moving to the towns in search of work in winter.
A slight permanent movement to the towns is in pro-
gress, but the rate is not rapid. As the Little Russians
are not naturally energetic or industrious, the supply
of labour for industries other than agriculture is not
equal to the demand, and immigration from other
parts of Russia is continuous. The heavier classes of
work in the industries of the Donets and Krivoy-Rog
regions are seldom undertaken by the natives of the
[563] country. The underground labour of the mines and
the foundry work is done mainly by Great Russians,
who come from the Governments of Smolensk, Orel,
[511] Kursk, Mohilev, and Simbirsk. The port labour at
Odessa and Nikolaev has attracted a population of
mixed nationality with a low standard of living, who
exist between seasons in a state of semi-starvation.

464 In the agricultural world labour is fairly plentiful,
221 but the neglect to cultivate such lands as are not
suitable for cereals has led to a summer immigration
of Bulgarians, who raise fine crops of vegetables and
ground fruits on low-lying land, supplying not only
the neighbourhood but far distant towns. These im-
migrants return home in winter.

167 There is no great permanent emigration from the Ukraine except among the population in the region of the upper Dnieper, a fair number of whom leave for the Polish industrial districts owing to bad conditions at home.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

466 Labour conditions cannot be called good in any
511 branch of industry. The State makes no effort to
565 regularize the supply and very little to better the
conditions of labour. The landless agricultural pro-
letariat, which is increasing steadily, lives in a hand-
to-mouth fashion, and its position is gradually growing
worse. Lacking energy and ability, individuals of

this class are often compelled to accept badly-paid 466
work in the towns, and both men and women have 511
often to make long and laborious journeys on foot in 565
search of employment.

A large class engaged in domestic industries, whether as masters or as servants, make a very poor living, frequently working very long hours under bad sanitary conditions.

In the coal and iron industries there are some concerns, 466
particularly those capitalized from abroad, which look well after their work-people, provide housing, secure good supplies of provisions at moderate prices, and take other measures to ameliorate labour conditions. In consequence, however, of works and mines being often situated on land rented on short-term leases, many employers cannot afford to lay out money on such objects, and conditions for labour are generally bad. So difficult is it to attract labour, that mine-owners have sometimes sought to secure convict labour from the Government.

The peculiar characteristic of labour in the Ukraine 166
is its mobility, which often occasions unexpected 464
crises. Superstition, epidemics of disease, and more obscure causes lead to vast movements of labourers from a district at very short notice.

The *artels*, which are labour organizations peculiar to 467
Russia, have an important influence on the supply and quality of certain labour. An *artel* is an association of workers, the general principles of which are: (1) all members must be actual workers; (2) all have equal rights in the organization; and (3) every member is responsible for the obligations contracted by the *artel*. The organization is usually non-capitalistic or has a very small capital.

In general there are two classes of *artels*, those of workers in producing trades and those of workers who provide service. The former are engaged in carpentering, cabinet-making, printing, linen-weaving, dairy-work, fishing, &c. The second group comprises stevedores, packers, customs agents, bank porters, com-

467 missionaires, dock and wharf labourers, outdoor servants, &c. The members of *artels* in the second group always receive employment in preference to other workers, as their trustworthiness is guaranteed by the *artel*, and the fact of their membership is some guarantee that they are efficient.

The *artels* are democratic and useful institutions, and, in a country where promptness and trustworthiness are somewhat rare qualities, they play a most valuable part in giving a measure of confidence and security to both employers and workmen.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(*a*) *Products of Commercial Value*

243 The agricultural industry is the largest in the
Ukraine, and employs the great majority of the
[134] population. The black-soil region extends over most
of the area, only the Governments of Kiev, Podolia, and
Chernigov, and the borders of the Black Sea, lying
[433] outside it. It follows that the suitability of the Ukraine
[439] for cereals is equal to that of any part of the world,
and its surplus crops form a considerable proportion
of the world's food-supply.

243 The mean area under cultivation in the period 1901–5
433 was 52,000,000 acres, producing 20,700,000 tons annually.
Of this total, 45,600,000 acres were under breadstuff crops, and produced 15,000,000 tons. For the year 1914, the figures were 56,300,000 acres, producing 23,000,000 tons. Of this 50,400,000 acres were under breadstuff crops, with a return of 15,900,000 tons.

243 *Rye* is the principal crop, and is produced on the
439 peasants' lands more largely than any other cereal.
It is the staple breadstuff of the country, and the internal consumption absorbs a large part of the crop, a minor quantity only being exported. In some years the crop is not sufficient for the home demand, and the peasants have to use imported flour or substitutes.

Wheat is next in importance, and provides the largest surplus for export. It is mainly grown on

privately-owned lands. The failure or success of the 243
Ukraine wheat harvest has its effect upon the corn 439
exchanges of the whole world, and its shipment from the Black Sea is the occasion of much anxiety and speculation every season.

Barley is largely grown and exported, being principally raised on privately-owned land. *Maize* comes next in value; the greater part of the crop is consumed locally, but a moderate quantity is exported in good years. The *oat* crop is valuable, and a proportion remains for export after the supply of local needs. *Millet* and *buckwheat* are grown for local use.

Of the non-cereal crops, *potatoes* take the first 244
place, exceeding all others by a large margin. They 437
are used not only for food and the manufacture of potato flour, but for the distillation of spirits, a flourishing industry in many districts. Small crops of *peas*, *beans*, and *lentils* are also grown.

The *sugar-beet* is raised in great quantities, especially in the governments which have not the black soil. Kiev produces most, Podolia and Kharkov come next; the remaining Governments have only small crops, and Taurida and Yekaterinoslav none. There is usually a large surplus of refined sugar for export, in addition to a valuable internal trade in sugar and manufactures thereof; the by-products of cattle food and spirit distilled from molasses increase the value of this crop.

Tobacco used to be widely cultivated except in the 249
black-soil zone, but its cultivation is steadily decreasing everywhere. It still remains important in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov. Only the coarsest qualities are raised, the leaf being known as *makhorka* and used solely by peasants and labourers.

Volhynia grows a large quantity of *hops*, about half the total yield of all Russia. The product is mostly sold locally, but occasionally a surplus is exported to the Warsaw market.

The *grape vine* is cultivated in Podolia, Kherson, 245
and Yekaterinoslav. The wine produced is of inferior quality, and has only a local market.

Of the crops producing vegetable oils, *linseed* and

249 Of the crops producing vegetable oils, linseed and *sunflower* are the principal. A great deal of sunflower seed is eaten raw by peasants and labourers all over Russia. These two crops are decreasing.

44 139 245 *Fruit and vegetables.*—The orchard districts are in the Governments of Podolia, Chernigov, Poltava, and Kiev. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, mulberries, and apricots grow freely, and the surplus goes to northern Russia, great quantities being preserved. Vegetables succeed well in the alluvial soils near the rivers. They are mostly grown by summer immigrants from Bulgaria (cf. p. 72), who use a primitive system of irrigation. The surplus supply all goes to northern Russia.

231 The live-stock of the Ukraine is very numerous, but of late years has tended to decrease.

Horses are much in demand for agricultural work, especially as the use of oxen as draught animals is being gradually abandoned. There is also a strong demand for horses in the coal and iron region for haulage. As a result the stock of horses has considerably increased in six out of the nine Governments, Volhynia, Podolia, and Chernigov alone showing decreases.

Cattle have decreased in numbers in five Governments and increased in four, but the total shows a serious falling off.

236 *Sheep* are divided roughly into two classes, fine-woolled and coarse-woolled, the former producing wool known as 'Spanish', the latter being killed for their skins. There is a general decrease of stock in every province of the Ukraine. The great increase of population and the demand for land, with rising rents, make sheep-farming not sufficiently profitable under present agricultural conditions.

231 The stock of *pigs* is, on the whole, maintained, and even shows a good increase in some Governments.

The *goat* was formerly of importance, and there was a considerable stock in the country, but it has dwindled latterly at a very rapid rate.

235 *Poultry* are kept in considerable numbers, but poultry-farming on modern methods is very rare and of small economic importance.

000 *Apiculture* is common in the northern Ukraine, and

Apiculture is common in the northern Ukraine and 231
vast quantities of honey are produced, but its quality suffers from the prevalent ignorance of scientific methods of bee-keeping, and it does not command a good price.

Disease among domestic animals causes great ravages. 232
Cattle-plague epidemics are of annual occurrence and cause heavy losses, the proportion of fatal cases being very high. The other most prevalent troubles appear to be anthrax, frounce in horses, and pneumo-enteritis amongst swine. The last disease has made great inroads of latter years, a large proportion of cases being fatal. The proportion of live-stock per 100 inhabitants shows decrease under almost every head, a slight increase in horses or pigs in some Governments by no means counterbalancing the all-round continuous shrinkage.

(*b*) *Land Tenure*[1] *and Methods of Cultivation*

As regards tenure, land in the Ukraine falls into 421
three main classes: (1) land owned privately, mainly 471
in large estates, but a small proportion in farm-holdings by successful peasants; (2) land termed *nadyel*, owned almost entirely by peasant communes; and (3) land owned by the Orthodox Church or the Crown, or granted as appanages to members of the Imperial family. The following table shows the total acreage, and the proportion belonging to each of these classes:

		Percentage of		
Government.	*Total area in millions of acres.*	*Private property.*	*Nadyel.*	*Church and Crown land, &c.*
Volhynia	15,484	48·9	39·8	11·3
Podolia	9,873	44·4	48·0	7·6
Chernigov	11,836	41·7	53·1	5·2
Kiev	12,484	45·2	45·6	9·2
Kherson	16,591	51·5	37·3	11·2
Poltava	11,331	45·1	52·3	2·6
Kharkov	12,141	35·8	59·2	5·0
Yekaterinoslav	15,041	50·4	45·4	4·2
Taurida	7,099	52·6	37·2	10·2
Total	111,880	Average 46·2	46·4	

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[1] See also p. 50.

421 425 Land tenure in the Ukraine is at present in an unstable state. The principal factors affecting it are two legal enactments, the first being the law of 1861 abolishing serfdom and providing for the ownership of land by peasants, who previously had held none, and the second being the Stolypin law of 1906 modifying the principle of communal ownership in peasant lands. The law of 1861 provided for land to be taken from private estates and handed over to peasants on a deferred purchase system. The land was not assigned to individuals, but to *mirs* (local communes), which divided it up for cultivation. The law also provided for periodical redistributions of this land, which is known always as the *nadyel* or endowment land. At the present time a good deal of *nadyel* land in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov is held by individual peasant owners, but elsewhere it is all owned by communes. A peculiar principle of this system is the mutual responsibility of all members of the commune for its legal and financial obligations, even should a member have forsaken the locality and the practice of agriculture.

425 511 The great defect of the distribution of 1861 is that it is based on the rural population of that date, with no machinery for providing additional land in proportion to the natural increase of population, which has been very rapid. Two evil results have followed. First, at the periodical redistributions of *nadyel* land the amount available per head has steadily decreased. The holdings have therefore tended to become uneconomical, and a consequent impoverishment of the peasants has taken place, with the natural concomitants of arrears of rent and taxes and an increased burden of debt on the land. Secondly, efforts to purchase or rent further land from private proprietors, in order to increase the available *nadyel* land or supply the wants of prosperous peasants who wish to buy new farms, has led to an enormous increase in the price and rent of land, a rise of three times being frequent and a tenfold rise occasional. To

alleviate these conditions various measures have been 425
adopted, such as the easement or complete extinguish- 511
ing of the burden of the purchase-price of the ***nadyel***,
the prevention of its frequent redistribution, and the
founding of the Peasants' Land Bank by the State to
facilitate further purchases of land by the communes.
Nevertheless, a result not looked for by the framers 565
of the law abolishing serfdom has followed, namely the
creation of a large landless agricultural proletariat,
which tends to sink in the social scale, to live partly
by industry in the towns, and to be migratory in its
habits.

The law of 1906 introduced for the first time the 421
general principle of individual and permanent ownership of *nadyel* lands. It aimed at the breaking up of the *mirs* as no longer fulfilling a need, in the expectation that security of tenure by the individual would lead to a more rational and successful system of cultivation. The period since the promulgation of the law is too short to allow of sound conclusions as to its effect.

The *nadyel* lands are almost entirely cultivated 241
on the three-field system, each unit of land being 311
planted one year with a winter-sown grain, the following year with a spring-sown grain, and lying fallow in the third year. This method causes a disastrous impoverishment of the land, especially as in many cases the minimum of manure, whether animal or chemical, is used. An alternative method must be introduced, or the productiveness of the black-soil land under peasant ownership will continue to shrink as heretofore.

The land held by private owners is in general their 425
perpetual freehold, and can be roughly divided into that 563
held by the nobility in large estates and the smaller holdings purchased from them since the abolition of serfdom by prosperous peasants and others desirous of embarking on agriculture on their own account. There are also a number of foreign colonists, chiefly Germans, descendants of those introduced into the country

425 by the Government at various times between the middle of the eighteenth century and 1861, in the hope that their superior methods of agriculture would be copied by other cultivators. This effect, however, was not produced, and the colonists form compact communities with little or no influence on their neighbours. Land in private ownership is usually farmed on more modern
[241] and rational principles than the *nadyel* land, and produces almost the entire surplus of cereals which is sent abroad and to other parts of Russia.

421 The land owned by the Church, Crown, and members of the Imperial family is absolute freehold, and is generally well managed and productively farmed.

407-412 Up-to-date agricultural machinery is becoming more common all round. It is of course most in vogue on the large estates, especially in the case of expensive machines involving the use of power; steam-ploughs on the cable system are much in use on the large sugar-beet estates, and tractor ploughs with single engines are becoming numerous. By the help and enterprise of the *zemstvos* the peasants are now beginning to use modern machines and implements. The traditional *sock* or wooden plough, the flail, and other such primitive tools are disappearing, although it is hard to induce the peasant to abandon his old methods.

(c) *Forestry*

137 A large portion of the Ukraine is totally denuded of
[311] trees at the present time. The Governments of Podolia and Volhynia, and the northern parts of Kiev and Chernigov, are well wooded, the area covered by forest being about 15 per cent. of the whole. In the remaining provinces the forest area averages 3–4 per cent. of the total. The State controls certain areas north of Kiev on both banks of the Dnieper, and in Volhynia on the south side of the Pripet marshes, as well as smaller scattered tracts in Podolia. In the Government of Yekaterinoslav the State has lately done much

planting, principally of sand-willows and pines, the main object being to arrest the movement of drift-sand. 137

The principal Ukraine timber trees are oak, maple, elm, ash, willow, aspen, lime, and wych-elm.

The art of forestry would appear to be almost entirely neglected. Systematic replanting of timber is hardly known, and wholesale destruction of woods on the river banks has had disastrous results in the splitting up of the channels. The lime is frequently denuded of its bark to make bast, the tree subsequently perishing as it stands. 3/3

(3) Fisheries

The fisheries of the Ukraine can be divided into three classes: those of the upper reaches of the rivers, those of the lower reaches and the lagoons at the mouths, and those of the Black Sea and the Azov Sea. 228

In the upper reaches of the principal rivers, fishing can scarcely be called an industry, being carried on by individuals mainly for their personal needs; the stock of fish is everywhere decreasing at a regrettable rate, and much alarm is caused by this depletion.

The fisheries of the lower reaches of the Dnieper, Dniester, and Southern Bug have considerable value. The principal fish taken are sturgeon, of which there are several varieties, carp, bream, fresh-water herring, and sander. The fisheries are the property of the riparian owners, who let them to syndicates. The State owns a considerable stretch on the Bug from Nikolaev to Novaya Odessa. The fishing seasons are from February to April and in the autumn, when the fish revisit the rivers to spawn. At this time they are taken for the roe, from which caviare of various qualities is made. 228 136

In the Black Sea the principal fish are mackerel, anchovy, and flounder. The fishing here is also carried on by syndicates, and is done close to shore with rather primitive appliances. The bulk of the fish is preserved

228 either by salting, smoking, or sun-curing. Fish-curing
[136] is carried on in factories at Odessa and Ochakov.

The fisheries in the Azov Sea are important, but the principal grounds are not in Ukrainian territory, those which lie within its limits being of insignificant value.

(4) MINERALS

(a) *Natural Resources*

135 The principal mineral resources of the Ukraine are coal, iron, and salt.

135
316 The *coal* is all in one large field usually known as the Donets basin, which extends from west to east for a distance of 300 miles. It is considered the largest coalfield in Europe, but owing to peculiarities of the geological strata it is split up into several areas with varying qualities of coal. Roughly the flame coals are on the western end of the field, the coking and semi-anthracite coals in the centre, and the anthracite in the east, though coking coals are also found towards the north-east corner. Very little pure anthracite is mined on Ukraine territory, as the beds are mainly in the Don Cossack district. Throughout the field the seams vary much in thickness. Some are too thin to be worked. The average thickness of those worked is 21 to 35 in.; seams of 5 ft. are moderately common, and the maximum thickness is 7 ft.

316
433 The output of coal from the Donets field is variable. This is chiefly due to labour difficulties, which arise in unexpected ways. Nevertheless if the figures of several years are considered together, a great increase is shown, and new pits are being opened every year. The average production for the years 1908 to 1912 was over 14,000,000 tons, the proportion of bituminous coal to anthracite being as 8 to 1. The figures include the whole field, as separate statistics for the portion over the Don Cossack border are not issued.

Iron.—The Ukraine is fortunate in having in close proximity to its coalfield a district rich in iron ore. The deposit, which is of excellent quality and easily worked,

is near the small town of Krivoy-Rog on the borders 3/6
of the Governments of Yekaterinoslav and Kherson, 433
between the town of Yekaterinoslav and the port of
Nikolaev. This district has produced 95 per cent. of [437]
the iron ore mined in European Russia in recent years, and after supplying the needs of the numerous ironworks on the Donets coalfield and dispatching great quantities to other parts of Russia, it exports a large surplus through the ports of Nikolaev and Mariupol. This supply is eagerly taken up, principally by Great Britain and Germany.

The Krivoy-Rog iron is a brown non-phosphoric ore, containing about 70 per cent. of pure iron. The output is steadily increasing: the ore mined amounted in 1906 to 3,000,000 tons, and in 1910 exceeded 4,000,000 tons. There have been further increases since.

Deposits of *manganese* ore are found in the Government of Yekaterinoslav at Nikopol on the lower Dnieper, a few miles east of the Krivoy-Rog iron district. Exploitation began in 1886, and has been very successful.

The production, of which 75 per cent. is exported, fluctuates greatly according to the price of manganese abroad, and a maximum output of 300,000 tons in 1907 was succeeded by a fall to one-half this amount in 1909, with a slight recovery in the following years.

Mercury has been exploited since 1879 at Nikitovka, in the Government of Yekaterinoslav. The mineral is found in the coal measures near the surface. After being successfully worked for thirty years, the mines were closed about 1909.

Salt.—The Ukraine has valuable deposits of salt. 317
There is an important mine of rock-salt near Bakhmut in 433
the Government of Yekaterinoslav. Boring has been continued to a depth of 760 ft. without passing through the entire thickness of the salt bed; of this 340 ft. consists of pure salt.

On the edge of the Kouyalnitski lagoon, north-east of Odessa, there is a salt lake which produces enough

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RDJ Ukraine RD1

317 salt for the domestic needs and preserving industries
433 of the neighbourhood.

Brine springs are worked at Bakhmut and at Slavyansk in the Government of Kharkov. The brine is pumped to the surface and the salt evaporated.

The salt production is increasing but slowly, and not in proportion to the needs of the preserving and curing industries of Russia; prices are rising and imports increasing. The average output for the years 1905–9 was 1,326,000 tons of pure salt, which was over 50 per cent. of the production of all Russia.

316 *Building stone.*—Quarrying for limestone is a great industry near Odessa, which is built of the local stone. Granite is quarried on the banks of the larger rivers, and Yekaterinoslav and other towns are largely built of granite, which is also used for harbour works and railway bridges.

317 *Pottery clays.*—Kaolin is found in the Ukraine, the entire output of Russia being produced within its boundaries. Clays of good quality exist in the Governments of Poltava, Kharkov, and Kherson, and supply material for the local domestic industry in earthenware.

(*b*) *Methods of Extraction*

316 There is nothing new or striking in the methods used for extracting the minerals mentioned; on the contrary, except where foreign capital is interested, they are on the whole not equal to those followed in western Europe and America. The greatest drawback is the low producing power of labour, for which no immediate remedy is to be found. There is room for improved machinery on a large scale, but unless the habits of the people change, the output per head will remain comparatively small.

(5) MANUFACTURES

433 Manufacturing industry plays a relatively small
439 part in the economic life of the Ukraine, the country not producing sufficient for its own wants and import-

ing both from abroad and from other parts of Russia. 433
The two principal exceptions to this rule are manu- 439
factured food-stuffs, and heavy iron and steel products.

Sixty-eight per cent. of the manufactured products 433
of the country consist of food-stuffs. The industries 256
contributing to this output are various, including flour- 257
milling, sugar-refining, and those dependent wholly or partly upon sugar, such as confectionery, fruit-preserving, distilling from molasses, brewing, and wine-making. Most of the undertakings concerned have only a small capital, and are situated near the source of their raw material. In the neighbourhood of Kiev, however, sugar-refining and its dependent industries are carried on in large works, many of which are capitalized from abroad.

The close conjunction of the Donets coalfield and 327
the iron and manganese deposits has enabled the 433
Ukraine to be almost entirely self-supporting in iron and steel manufactures of the first categories, and to supply the wants of the remainder of Russia as well. Pig-iron, bar-iron, roof-iron, steel rails, axles, tubes, and assorted merchant iron are all made in the iron-works which have been established in increasing numbers on the coal and iron fields. These works are seldom in large centres of population, but as a rule in small towns and villages, some of which owe their existence to the need of housing for the labour employed.

The output of raw iron and steel in the first stage of manufacture under the headings of Bessemer and Thomas bars, Martin-process bars, cast-iron and steel billets, and cast-iron tubes, was in 1906 1,300,000 tons, and in 1910 1,900,000 tons. The output of iron and steel in the second stage of manufacture, under the headings of T and H beams, rails, sheet-iron, rolled wire, roof-iron, trusses, springs, assorted merchant iron and axles, was in 1906 1,010,000 tons, and in 1910 1,602,258 tons. In the former year the output in both stages was equal to about 45 per cent., and in the latter year to about 55 per cent., of the total Russian output.

433 The development of the industry on a large scale
327 dates from the year 1870, when a British subject named Hughes received from the Russian Government a concession for the manufacture of iron rails. The company founded by him exists to-day under British management at a place called Hughesovka, and is known as the New Russia Co., Ltd. It has been followed up by a great number of other enterprises, some Russian, but most founded by British, French, and Belgian capital, which has been freely invested in the industry during the last forty years, particularly between 1880 and the end of the century.

392 Agricultural machinery is in constant demand.
433 When first used in the country, it had all to be imported, but of late it has been manufactured in the Ukraine in increasing quantities. Although the customs duties on agricultural machinery are low—certain types in fact are admitted free—the machinery made in the country finds more favour every year. For certain complex machines the Ukraine is still dependent upon imports, but, apart from these, it will probably be able in time to produce all the agricultural machinery it needs. In 1913, out of a total of 770 agricultural machinery factories in Russia, 271 were situated in the Ukraine. The value of their output was 31,000,000 rubles, that of the whole of Russia being 54,000,000 rubles. In addition to the production of the factories, large quantities of tools and machinery of the simpler sort are made by domestic workers, working single-handed or in small syndicates.

The principal agricultural machinery works are in the Governments of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Kharkov. The firms John Greaves & Co. and E. L. Mathias & Sons (Berdyansk), Hartmann Machinery Co. (Lugansk), H. A. Klassen (Sofiesk), R. & E. Elworthy (Yelisavetgrad), I. I. Hoehn (Odessa), and Franz & Schroeder (Neu-Halbstadt), are among those doing the largest business, and the names of the concerns show how largely foreign enterprise has entered this field, none having a Russian title. At Kiev and Kharkov

there are several large factories which specialize in every 392
kind of machine necessary for the sugar industry. 433

Several other industries, while of small account in comparison with those described above, deserve mention.

Manufacturing enterprises dependent upon animal 282
products divide themselves principally into tanneries 285
and woollen factories. The centres of the leather 433
industry lie in the northern portion of the country, especially in the Governments of Kharkov, Poltava, Chernigov, and Podolia. This industry accounts for 4·5 per cent. of the total manufacturing output of the Ukraine. The woollen industry is centred in Kharkov, which has two large cloth mills, and in the town of Klintsi in the Government of Chernigov, where not only cloth but knitted goods, yarns, rugs, shawls, and other woollen goods are turned out from eight considerable factories. The production of woollen goods represents 3·5 per cent. of the total Ukraine output of manufactures.

The timber-working industry is chiefly found in 3/3
the riparian towns, especially on the Dnieper. Yeka- 433
terinoslav takes first place, and Kremenchug, Alexandrovsk and Kherson also have saw-mills. Much of the timber shipped abroad is in an unworked state, and manufactures of the better sort are poorly represented. The industry accounts for only 4 per cent. of the value of the Ukraine manufactures.

The chemical industry is of minor importance. It 382
is concerned chiefly with the products and by-products 433
of coal gas at Odessa and Kharkov, but there is also a soda factory in the Bakhmut district and there are a number of match-factories in the Novozibkovsk district of Chernigov. The products of the industry represent only 3·5 per cent. of the value of the manufactures of the Ukraine. None of the more advanced branches of the industry is established in the country.

The industries enumerated account for 90–95 per 433
cent. of the manufactures of the country. The remainder, grouped under the headings of paper, linen, cotton, and fibre industries, are of negligible account.

438 [655] In addition to factory industries there exists in Russia a group known as *kustarni* or domestic industries. They are considered so important by the Government that measures are taken by the various authorities to improve their output and conditions, to revive old ones and even to found new ones. Their range is wide, and they are carried on by families, by working syndicates or *artels* (cf. p. 73), or by individuals. In the Ukraine these industries are less well developed than in most parts of Russia, and in some provinces are hardly represented. There are three branches well established. Pottery is manufactured in the Governments of Kiev, Chernigov, and Poltava, where suitable clays are found, and the *kustarni* earthenware of these districts has a good reputation all over the country. Shoes, harness, and other leather goods are produced in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov. Combs, buttons, and other objects made from animal horn are also a noted product of Poltava.

(6) Power

371 In the Ukraine power is almost exclusively produced by steam. Electric power is used for the tramways in Odessa and Kiev, but water-power is neglected, and electric drive for factory work is not employed.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

(a) *General Characteristics; Markets, Fairs, &c.*

438 441 The trade of the Ukraine consists almost entirely in the movement and marketing of the produce of the land in one form or another. One of its noticeable features is the passage of commodities through several hands before they come into use. Nowhere are found so many middlemen, salesmen, and agents. This is caused principally by the lack of capital in the hands of the producer and a general encumbrance and hypothecation of land, crops, machinery, &c. There is

a very large population of Jews, who have become 438
general tradesmen and brokers to the community. 441

The cereal crop is the subject of elaborate commercial transactions, and much of it is sold two or three times before it is harvested. The lack of proper storage leads to the rapid dispersal of the bulk of the surplus crop. Odessa and Nikolaev have corn exchanges where the export of the crop is financed, and there is an exchange for internal cereal trade at Yelisavetgrad.

The sugar trade is subject to Government control. 438
A committee fixes annually the amount of sugar to be 433
placed on the home market and the distribution of 655
supplies to the refineries, the quantity so dealt with paying the minimum excise. After this allocation any surplus remaining is disposed of according to the general state of the market and the stock held over from the previous season, and is allotted for internal use or export. Russia was a signatory to the Sugar Convention of 1907, and agreed that, during the six years from the date of the convention, she should not export in all more than 1,000,000 tons. This specially affected the Ukraine as the principal sugar-producing area in Russia.

The sugar and alcohol markets are at Kiev, Kharkov, 438
and Odessa.

Wool of the finer sorts called 'Spanish' is dealt in principally at Kharkov, which is also the chief market for leather.

There is a flax market at Novozybkov in the province of Chernigov.

The principal timber markets are Yekaterinoslav and Kherson.

Odessa is a market for a great number of commodities produced in the interior, especially food-stuffs, cattle, tobacco, and vegetable oils.

The custom of transacting important business at 438
fixed fairs is of very long standing in the Ukraine, and, 443
while the importance of every fair tends to decrease at present owing to the adoption of other methods of trading, the fairs continue to be held, and, especially

438 443 in petty classes of trade, are still the occasion of much buying and selling. The principal ones are as follows:

At Kiev the so-called Kontraktovaya fair is held from February 5 to 29. The goods dealt in are carpets, woven materials, silk, ready-made clothing, wooden goods, preserved fish, groceries, sugar, flax, iron, machines, coal, and salt. The real importance of the fair lies in its being the meeting-place for traders of all sorts from the neighbouring provinces. Bankers, agriculturists, and manufacturers meet to settle old and to make new contracts (hence its title), to liquidate or renew bills, &c. The turnover is about £250,000.

Poltava has a fair called Illinskaya from July 1 to 31. It is exclusively for the sale of skins, leather, and manufactures thereof. The turnover averages about £100,000.

Kharkov has four annual fairs, named after the religious festivals at which they are held: (1) Kreshenskaya (Epiphany), January 6 to February 1, for trade in manufactured goods, groceries, peltry, and leather. The turnover is about £1,250,000. (2) Troitskaya (Trinity), June 1 to 30, for trade in wool, sheepskins, and manufactured goods. Turnover, about £500,000. (3) Uspenskaya (Assumption), August 1 to 31, for manufactured and colonial goods. Turnover, about £900,000. (4) Pokrovskaya (Intercession of the Virgin), October 1 to 26 for general trade, as at Kreshenskaya. Turnover, about £1,250,000.

Jitomir has a hop fair from September 6 to 14 for the sale of the season's crop, the value of which fluctuates widely from year to year.

A large annual fair, principally for the disposal of wool, is held at Kakhovka.

438 452 The internal trade of the Ukraine is generally conducted on the basis of a long credit, six to nine months by bill; and the fairs and exchanges give opportunity to gauge the general financial state of the country, which is almost totally dependent upon harvest conditions, and to provide for liquidation or renewal of the floating credit as circumstances require.

(b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

Organizations to promote trade in the Ukraine are 441 not numerous. The true traders of the country are the native Jews, and to trace their involved dealings is impossible.

The sales of the coal and iron are almost wholly 477 controlled by rings and cartels. The most powerful one, the *Prodamet*, or metal sales combine, controlled recently over 80 per cent. of all the iron and steel produced in South Russia and threatened to absorb the entire output.

The activities of the *zemstvos* in trade call for mention. 441 These organs of local government actively enter into 185 trade in agricultural machinery, improved seed, and pedigree live-stock, and endeavour to improve the facilities for selling the products of domestic industry. Their aim is to lift the internal commerce of the country from the condition of dependence on speculating middlemen, into which it has almost irretrievably fallen, but their achievements so far only touch the fringe of a deep-seated social trouble.

There are chambers of commerce at Odessa, Kiev, 441 Kharkov, Berdyansk, and Mariupol, and there is a branch of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce at Odessa. Odessa, Nikolaev, and Yelisavetgrad have corn exchanges, and coal and iron exchanges exist at Kharkov.

(c) *Foreign Interests and Methods of Economic Penetration*

The present state of commerce in the Ukraine pro- 471 vides a wide field for economic penetration from abroad. 433 Agriculture in its first stages is not much affected, but in one case, that of the production of sugar from beet, the secondary stages of manufacture have been much exploited by foreign capital and management. The coal and iron mining industries and the iron and steel manufacturing industries owe their foundation in great measure to foreigners, by whom they are still largely

471 managed and financed. Russia has not been able to
433 find capital for new projects, with the result that within the last twenty-five years numerous undertakings have been started with foreign money. Official lists show that the nation most largely interested is France, Belgium and Great Britain coming next. The fortunes of these enterprises have varied, but in general their success has not been great in proportion to the original capital.

453 The last quarter of a century has also seen the
471 foundation of a number of trading banks with Russian titles and boards of directors at least nominally Russian. Their resources, however, are largely provided and completely controlled from Germany. These institutions have admittedly acquired a controlling interest in most of the concerns above mentioned, often at a very moderate outlay, and have supplied additional loan capital at profitable rates of interest. One and the same bank has in many cases obtained control over every stage in the production of a manufactured article, from the winning of the raw material onward, of course drawing its profit from every undertaking concerned. Certain British concerns have held out and kept their shares in their own hands, but financial institutions governed by German capitalists have a preponderating hold on those industries of the Ukraine which are large enough to repay their attention—that is, on the coal, iron, and allied industries of the Donets, and the sugar industries of the Kiev district.

The foreign interests in the Ukraine lie principally in the industrial concerns above mentioned. British interests are not strong, and are chiefly represented by some collieries and ironworks at Alexandrovsk and the general properties of the New Russia Co., Ltd., at Hughesovka and elsewhere (cf. p. 86).

(2) Foreign

(*a*) *Exports*

No separate figures as to exports from the Ukraine are given in official statistics, which in every case refer to the Empire as a whole. Owing, however, to the nature of the exports, it is possible to draw some general conclusions.

The total exports of Russia for several years of the twentieth century have averaged £100,000,000 in value. Considerably more than half at all times, and frequently as much as two-thirds, come under the heading of food-stuffs. Of these, cereals and sugar are ~~certainly~~ almost entirely of Ukrainian origin. Butter and eggs, the two other most notable items, are not exported from the Ukraine in any quantity, but the total value of these exports does not approach a quarter of the value of the exports of wheat alone.

The following figures show how the export of cereals, especially wheat, varies according to the harvest. Of the years quoted, 1908 was poor, 1909 good, and 1910 excellent:

	1908.	1909.	1910.
	£	£	£
Wheat	11,200,000	38,400,000	40,500,000
Rye	2,500,000	3,400,000	2,900,000
Barley	13,200,000	16,500,000	15,800,000

Wood and prepared timber are largely exported from Russia, and a small proportion comes from the Ukraine.

Of hides, another important export, the Ukraine furnishes a good share, and the same remark applies to oil-seed products.

Iron-ore exports are almost entirely of Ukrainian origin, coming from Krivoy-Rog.

The above headings cover the most important articles which the Ukraine has for export. The wheat goes principally to Great Britain, Holland, and Germany; the rye to Austria, Germany, and other

439 destinations; and the barley chiefly to Germany. The iron-ore goes mainly to Great Britain and Germany.

(*b*) *Imports*

As in the case of exports, exact figures for the Ukraine imports cannot be given. In the long list of Russian imports, only three stand out conspicuously —raw cotton, wool, and machinery. Neither imported wool nor cotton is worked in the Ukraine, and the importation of agricultural machinery, though still considerable, is declining. As for commodities under the headings of colonial produce and manufactured goods, the share taken by the Ukraine cannot be estimated, but it is probable that more than half the amount imported through Ukraine ports is consumed beyond the Ukraine boundaries, as the adjacent parts of Russia have greater purchasing power. It may safely be said, however, that the imports of chemical manures, which are increasing rapidly, are largely destined for the Ukraine.

Germany is the principal source of Russia's imports, her share being usually 45–50 per cent. of their total value. Imports from Great Britain represent only 12–14 per cent. of the whole. The rest of the import trade is divided among many countries, none of which contributes as much as 10 per cent. of the total.

(*c*) *Customs and Tariffs*

651 The Russian tariff is on the whole highly protective, particularly in reference to manufactured articles. As far as possible the duties are levied on weight, only occasionally on value. The tariff contains 218 sections and many sub-classifications.

There is a short free list which includes many kinds of agricultural machinery, live cattle, horses, and cattle food consisting of by-products of manufacture. Certain fertilizing substances and chemicals necessary for tanning and other industries are imported under low duties.

The conventional tariff is modified in favour of various nations in respect of specified items according to the commercial treaties mentioned below. 651

(*d*) *Commercial Treaties*

The Ukraine having hitherto formed part of the Russian Empire, the commercial treaties of the Empire have had full force there. Up to the year 1893, notwithstanding any treaties existing, all European nations were on the same footing in relation to the Russian tariff. Since then the following special conventions as to tariffs have been concluded: 648 439

With France.—A treaty of 1893 provides for a reduction of Russian duties on 52 articles of French origin, in exchange for a reduced French tariff on naphtha and its products.

With Serbia.—A treaty of commerce and navigation, signed in 1893, agrees to a decrease of the Russian duty on Serbian fruits, in exchange for Serbian concessions on fish and mineral oils.

With Germany.—By a treaty of commerce signed in 1894, Russia lowered her duties in favour of Germany on 135 articles, in consideration of which she obtained most-favoured-nation treatment from Germany.

With Portugal.—A general convention of 1895 arranged that Russia should benefit by certain reductions of the Portuguese tariff, and that Portuguese cork and cork products should be allowed a 20 per cent. reduction of duty on entering Russia.

With Japan.—A general treaty, signed in 1895, placed Japan, in respect of her commercial relations with Russia, on a similar footing to that of European countries.

With Bulgaria.—In 1897 the Russian tariff on dried meat, eggs, and undressed leather was lowered in favour of Bulgaria, and attar of roses was admitted free of duty. In return, certain general concessions and most-favoured-nation treatment were accorded by Bulgaria to Russia.

648 439 Asia generally has peculiar commercial relations with Russia, the duties on both sides being as a rule low, while numerous arrangements for reciprocal concessions have been made, notably with Persia, the Turkish Empire, and China.

(D) FINANCE

(1) Public Finance

652 The Russian Imperial revenue is largely raised in indirect taxes. The budget for 1911 shows the following revenue figures:

		Roubles.
Direct taxes		210,000,000
Indirect taxes:		
Liquor	42,000,000	
Tobacco	69,000,000	
Sugar	123,000,000	
Petroleum	44,000,000	
Matches	18,000,000	
Customs	289,000,000	
		585,000,000
Duties:		
Stamps, fees on transfers, harbour dues, railway dues		169,000,000
Royalties:		
Mines, mint, posts and telegraphs, and spirit monopoly		849,000,000
State property, including railways		765,000,000
Remainder		122,000,000
Total		2,700,000,000

The principal spending departments were the Ministries of Ways and Communications, War, and Finance, and the Public Debt service. These accounted for three-fourths of the expenditure.

In 1910 the revenue receipts from the respective 652
Governments of the Ukraine were as follows:

	Roubles.
Volhynia	24,400,000
Podolia	24,300,000
Kiev	128,900,000
Chernigov	18,400,000
Poltava	24,900,000
Kharkov	46,200,000
Yekaterinoslav	37,300,000
Kherson	80,400,000
Taurida	12,800,000
Total	397,600,000

The total revenue of European Russia for the same year was 1,522,800,000 roubles. In the period 1906–10 the revenue showed a good expansion in the Governments of Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, and Kherson. Elsewhere in the Ukraine it appeared to be stationary.

After the Imperial authorities, the *zemstvos* are 651
the most important bodies authorized to raise taxes. 652
Their revenue comes from taxes on land, houses, and 634
factory buildings, and from licences for distilleries, 69 per cent. being derived from the land tax. Their expenses are (1) obligatory: local civil administration, upkeep of district roads, bridges, &c., and health service; (2) facultative: public instruction and provision of medical attendance in rural districts. Their functions have gradually spread in a somewhat irregular manner, and vary very much according to the degree of energy shown by the committees. Some have embarked on commercial schemes, such as the installation of telephone systems or trade in agricultural machinery; others perform only the minimum of their duties.

Five Governments of the Ukraine have a *zemstvo* 652
organization, and their budgets of receipts and expenses, 634
which appear to balance exactly, are as follows for the years 1906 and 1910:

652
634

Government.	1906. *Roubles.*	1910. *Roubles.*
Yekaterinoslav . . .	5,210,000	8,241,000
Poltava . . .	6,737,000	8,750,000
Taurida . . .	3,599,000	4,576,000
Kharkov . . .	5,753,000	9,168,000
Kherson . . .	3,808,000	5,542,000

632 Thirty-one towns in the Ukraine have municipal
652 administrations, and can raise taxes and contract loans for purposes similar to those of the *zemstvo* budgets. A considerable debt has been incurred. The towns of Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa have borrowed money for municipal purposes in foreign markets; of a total debt of 53,000,000 roubles, these three towns account for 35,000,000 roubles.

652 The *mirs* or local communes can also raise some taxes
632 for purely local purposes. Obligatory taxes are levied
651 for local communal administration, provision of granaries for storing food-stuffs, upkeep of local roads on peasant lands, and insurance against fire and inundations. Facultative powers of taxation are in the hands of the *mirs* for the building and maintenance of churches, schools, and hospitals, and other special local needs. There is a great deal of irregularity in the levying and administration of these taxes.

(2) BANKING

453 The banks of the Ukraine fall into several well-
652 defined groups. In the first place come banks which are State or semi-State institutions. These are the Imperial State Bank, the Land Bank of the Nobility, the Peasants' Land Bank, and the State Savings Bank.

The Imperial State Bank is a Government institution with a wide sphere of activity. It controls the currency and note issue, being the only bank issuing notes. It undertakes general banking and bill broking, besides having close relations with the Treasury for revenue, loan, and other purposes. It makes large loans to private banks; up to 1910 the total amount was £189,000,000. It also advances money on merchandise, principally on

grain. The bank's net profits in 1904 were £1,200,000, 453
and in 1910 £2,400,000. The capital is £5,000,000, 652
and the reserve £500,000.

The Land Bank of the Nobility was founded after the liberation of the serfs to make advances on land, to finance the nobility involved in the transfer of part of their estates to the peasants, and to prevent the ruinous hypothecation of their land elsewhere.

The Peasants' Land Bank, founded in 1883, renders similar services to the peasants, advancing money on land to increase peasant holdings, to purchase agricultural machinery or live-stock, and for other objects.

The State Savings Banks carry out the function their title suggests, and also undertake certain minor insurance business. Branches can be opened in all towns and villages. The management is supervised by the Imperial State Bank. The banks were started in 1862 with 140,000 accounts and £850,000 in deposits, and in 1907 had 6,940,000 accounts and £128,000,000 in deposits.

Joint-stock land banks form the next group of 453
important banks. There are four in the Ukraine, with resources as follows:

Bank.	*Share Capital.*	*Reserves.*	*Bonds in circulation.*
	£	£	£
Kharkov	1,170,000	200,000	12,000,000
Poltava	800,000	600,000	11,000,000
Bessarabia–Taurida . .	700,000	500,000	11,000,000
Kiev	600,000	400,000	9,500,000

These banks advance money on agricultural security on a business basis, and make considerable profits.

Mutual credit associations form another group, and 452
are spread all over the country, their aggregate turnover being very great. They vary very much in size and extent of operations, but in general their rate of interest is high.

Trading banks form the last great group. They 453
are usually joint-stock concerns, and are carried on according to the German model, their foundation being

453 often due to German enterprise. They interest themselves in all sorts of industrial concerns, and even promote new ones. The following banks of this class have branches in the Ukraine: Discount Bank of Petrograd, Petrograd International Commercial Bank, Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, Union Bank, Volga-Kama Bank, Bank of Commerce and Industry, Azov-Don Bank, Russo-Asiatic Bank, and Commercial Bank of Siberia. One or two Moscow banking firms also have a few branches. The Russo-French Bank and the Russian and English Bank are joint-stock concerns founded specially to look after the Russian trade of the two countries in question. The Crédit Lyonnais appears to be the only purely foreign bank which has branches in the Ukraine.

(3) Principal Fields of Investment

000 The lack of capital in Russia, and the backward state of the industrial and commercial life of the Ukraine, offer innumerable openings to the foreign investor. The rivers should be canalized and systematically used for traffic; more railways and tramways are needed, and at least some water-power could be industrially used. Lastly, the iron and steel trades could be developed greatly. Unless, however, labour problems can be simplified, and the quality of native labour much improved, a great risk will always attach to the investment of capital in the Ukraine.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

A Ukraine proverb runs: 'The harvest is the Almighty!' This gives the clue to the whole economic situation of the country. Great as are the industries in the Donets and Krivoy-Rog regions, these are a foreign growth, largely dependent on capital and management from abroad, and worked mainly by immigrants from Great Russia. Agricultural problems, therefore, are the chief concern of those interested to see the Ukraine prosperous. The task before them is to pilot agriculture from its present phase to another with the minimum of friction and waste of effort. 000

The Ukraine has long emerged from the first phase of agriculture—that of purely extensive cultivation of a fertile belt, where unoccupied lands are sown with successive cereal crops as long as they yield a sufficient return, and afterwards deserted. The second phase, during which a slightly more intensive system is in vogue, but more is continuously taken from the soil than is returned to it, should now be near its end. The third, which should soon begin, is that of intensive mixed farming with wide rotations and frequent fertilization by animal manure produced on the farm and chemical manure brought from industrial districts.

At present agriculture in the Ukraine is stationary, pending the move towards the last stage indicated. The area under crops is increasing, but the average crop per acre is stationary or decreasing. The population is growing, but it would appear that the wealth per head is diminishing. On the whole the country is not now so rich as it was formerly. Its soil is partially exhausted; its live-stock shows a tendency to decrease; other natural sources of wealth, such as the forests, have been trenched upon and no replacement has been attempted. Its large cereal exports are more a sign of necessity than of surplus, the population often subsisting on inferior bread-stuffs.

The problems presented for solution before the transit to the third stage of agriculture can be effected and economic prosperity assured, are those of ownership, methods of farming and supply of labour—whether holdings shall be small or large farms prevail, and whether the land shall be cultivated by peasant proprietors or wage-paid labour, or (as at present) there shall be a mixture of both systems. The country is inhabited by Little Russians, who seem designed by nature to be peasants, and do not appear likely to engage in any industry other than agriculture, except on a small scale and of necessity. If they can live by the land, and if they are suitably educated and aided

000 by the State, they should become a prosperous peasant people.

The mining and manufacturing industries are of recent development in the Ukraine, and, in view of the excellent coal and iron in the country, are destined to flourish. But, as the native Ukrainian does not take kindly to any but an agricultural life, these industries are likely to remain in the hands of the foreigner and the immigrant from Great Russia.

Although the Ukraine has a seaboard and important overseas trade, it does not seem likely to produce a maritime population; and navigation and seafaring will probably continue to be left to peoples better suited to them.

For commerce the activities of the huge Jewish population can be relied upon; but there remains the task of solving the acute social problems arising from its existence side by side with a peasantry inclined to thriftlessness, in a backward state of education, and influenced by religious bigotry.

The question of capital is a paramount one. It can only be said that, if the country is to progress, capital must be found. Whether such capital will be brought in from abroad in the first instance, or produced from surplus profits at home, only the future can show.

APPENDIX

I

NUMBER OF THE UKRAINIANS[1]

According to the census of 1897, there were 23,430,000 161 Ukrainians in the nine Ukrainian Governments of Russia. The number accepted by the Russian Academy of Science in their report relating to the Ukrainian language is 22,700,000 (also based on the census of 1897). Prof. Hrushevski in his popular history of the Ukraine in Ukrainian ('How the Ukrainian People live'), published in 1915, says that there are altogether some 30,000,000 Ukrainians, of whom 25,000,000 are—or were—Russian subjects. According to Dr. Paul Ostwald (*Die Ukraine und die Ukrainische Bewegung*, 1916, p. 8), who takes his statistics from the *Revue Ukrainienne*, August, 1915, there are

4,220,000	Ukrainians	in	Austria-Hungary.
29,435,000	„	„	Russia.
760,000	„	„	America.
34,415,000			

This means that out of every thirty-eight Ukrainians, thirty are Russian. The two following tables give an idea of the distribution of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Governments of Russia :

	1897.[2]		1910.[3]	
	Per cent. of Ukrainians.	*No. of Inhabitants.*	*Per cent. of Ukrainians.*	*No. of Inhabitants.*
Volhynia .	70	2,989,000	70	3,850,000
Podolia . .	81	3,018,000	81	3,030,000
Kiev . . .	80	3,559,000	79	4,570,000
Chernigov .	66	2,298,000	86	2,980,000
Poltava . .	93	2,778,000	95	3,580,000
Kharkov .	80	2,492,000	70	3,250,000
Yekaterinoslav	69	2,114,000	69	3,000,000
Kherson . .	54	2,734,000	54	3,450,000
Taurida . .	41	1,448,000	42	1,880,000

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[1] See also p. 12.

[2] Shchegolev, p. 364.

[3] Rudnyčkyj, p. 91.

II

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TEXT OF THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK, BETWEEN THE UKRAINE AND THE CENTRAL POWERS, FEBRUARY 9, 1918

A TREATY of peace between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the one part, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other part. The Ukraine people having, in the course of the present world-war, declared itself independent and expressed the wish to restore peace between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Powers at war with Russia, the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey have resolved to agree on a peace treaty with the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic. They thereby desire to take the first step towards a lasting world-peace, honourable for all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war, but shall also lead to the restoration of friendly relations between the peoples in the political, legal, economic and intellectual realms. To this end the plenipotentiaries of the above-mentioned Governments, namely, for the Imperial German Government, the Foreign Secretary, Baron von Kühlmann; for the joint Austro-Hungarian Government, the Foreign Minister, Count Czernin; for the Bulgarian Government, the Premier, Mr. Radoslavov, and the envoys, Mr. Andrea Toschev, Mr. Ivan Staia Stoyanovitch, the military plenipotentiary, Colonel Peter Gantchev, and Doctor Theodor Anastassov; for the Imperial Ottoman Government, the Grand Vizier, Talaat Pasha, the Foreign Minister, Nessimi Bey, Hakki Pasha, and General Izzet Pasha; for the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Messrs. Alexander Siewrjuk, Mykola Ljubynsjkyj, and Mykola Lewytsjkyj, members of the Central Rada, have met together at Brest-Litovsk for the inauguration of peace negotiations, and, after submitting their credentials, which were found to be in good and proper form, they have reached agreement on the following conditions:

ARTICLE I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

ARTICLE II.—(*a*) Between Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, in so far as these two Powers border upon one another, those frontiers will exist which existed before the outbreak of the present war between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Russia; (*b*) farther north, the frontier of the Ukrainian People's Republic commencing at Tarnegrad, will, in general, follow the line Bilgoraj, Szoezebrzszyn, Krasnostas, Pugaszow, Radin, Meshireyschie, Sarnaki, Melnik, Wysckolitowsk, Kamenietzlitowsk, Pruschany, Wydonovskojcsce. These frontiers will be fixed in detail by a mixed commission according to the ethnographical conditions and with regard to the desires of the population; (*c*) should the Ukrainian People's Republic still have common frontiers with another of the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance special agreements will be made thereupon.

Article III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present peace treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and the transfer of the evacuated territories will be determined by plenipotentiaries of the interested parties.

Article IV.—Diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The widest possible admittance of the respective parties' consuls is to be reserved for special agreements.

Article V.—The contracting parties mutually renounce reimbursement of their war costs (that is to say the State expenditure for carrying on the war) as well as indemnification for war damages (that is to say those damages which have been suffered by them and their subjects in the war areas through military measures, including all requisitions made in the enemy's country).

Article VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return home, in so far as they do not desire, with the approval of the State concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to another country. The regulation of questions connected herewith will follow by means of the separate treaties provided for in Article VIII.

(Article VII is a long clause covering the economic agreements made between the Ukraine and the four enemy Powers. *Inter alia* it provides for 'a reciprocal exchange, until July 31 of the current year, of the surplus of the most important agricultural and industrial products . . . for the purpose of meeting current requirements', and it revives the Russo-German Commercial Treaty of 1894–1904.)

Article VIII.—The restoration of public and private legal relations (Rechtsbeziehungen), the exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the amnesty question, as well as the question of the treatment of merchantmen in the enemy's

648 hands, will be regulated in the separate treaties with the Ukrainian People's Republic, which form an essential part of the present peace treaty, and, so far as is practicable, will enter into force simultaneously therewith.

ARTICLE IX.—The agreements made in this treaty constitute an indivisible whole.

ARTICLE X.—For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Ukrainian text is authoritative for the relations between Germany and the Ukraine; the German, Hungarian, and Ukrainian text for the relations between Turkey and the Ukraine.

Final prescription. The present peace treaty will be ratified. The ratified documents shall be exchanged as soon as possible. So far as nothing therein prescribes otherwise, the peace treaty comes into force on its ratification. (Here follow the signatures.)

A supplementary treaty of twenty-eight articles was signed between Germany and the Ukraine on the same day. It deals with the resumption of consular relations, the revival of 'treaties, arrangements and agreements which were in force between Germany and Russia before the war', exchange of prisoners, compensation for damage, &c. (*The New Europe*, February 28, 1918.)

III

THE GERMAN COLONISTS IN S. RUSSIA (from F. Stach, *Survey of the History of the Colonists in S. Russia and their Present Life.* Moscow, 1916.)

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REALIZING that in the southern territories acquired by Russia in the eighteenth century only colonists with a certain amount of culture could introduce a settled life and develop the resources of the country, Catherine the Great published a manifesto on December 4, 1762, inviting foreign colonists. As a result, 102 colonies were established on the Lower Volga in the Saratov and Samara Governments, 6 in Chernigov, 1 in Voronezh, 2 in Lifland, and 6 in the Petrograd Government. A further manifesto followed on July 22, 1763, enlarging the privileges of the colonists, which were very considerable.

This manifesto was the basis of the colonies of Russia. On March 19, 1764, a supplementary act was issued granting 30 desyatines of land to each family and prescribing the method of settling and rights of inheritance. The land was to pass to youngest son; this measure would force the father to teach elder sons various industries. Another manifesto of July 19, 1785, promised freedom from all taxation for 6 years.

The first party of settlers from Danzig, many of whom were Mennonite sectaries, arrived at Kremenchug in 1787. On September 6, 1800, Paul I proclaimed special privileges to the Mennonites of Novorossiya (Governments of Kherson, Taurida, Yekaterinoslav, and the Don Cossacks' Territory); 65 desyatines were granted to each family, and it was promised that they would never be called up for military and other duties against their wish. Further regulations concerning the colonists appeared in 1804.

In the reign of Alexander I, in 1818, a new Care Committee for South-Russian Colonies (Governments of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia) was established in Yekaterinoslav 1818–22; it migrated to Kishinev a little later. On July 1, 1833, the Committee was limited in power and transferred to Odessa. It existed till July 4, 1871, when it was cancelled and all Russian colonists were placed under the general law. In 1874 they, together with the others, were made amenable to conscription.

Relations between the colonists and the Russians.—Before the Crimean War, and even down to 1860, the Russian towns had very little to do with the colonists, except in the case of those colonies which were situated in the neighbourhood of Odessa, Yekaterinoslav, Nikolaev, Simferopol, Chernigov, Voronezh, Samara, Saratov, and Petrograd. At first intercourse arose from commercial relations. But the influence of colonists on the Nogai was much greater after about 1809 and 1835 when the Nogai received land for permanent settlements. T. Kornis, a colonist of Orlovo, was responsible for helping some 17,000 Nogai to settle down. When the *dukhobors* of Tambov and Voronezh migrated to the neighbourhood of the Mennonites, they were greatly helped by them.

The Ministry of Public Property published in 1846 a report showing that at that time the colonists occupied 1,424,619 desyatines of land (1,309,945 arable). Their number was 95,342 men and 88,293 women, and they were chiefly engaged in agriculture, then cattle-breeding, butter-making, fruit cultivation, tobacco plantation, vegetable-growing, silk industry, wine plantation, and various applied industries.

In agriculture, so early as 1870, they used harvest machines, and in 1905 steam and electrical agricultural machines. In the sixties the Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian colonists began to imitate the Germans, so that now their methods in agriculture are very much alike. During the last 50 years many colonists bought large private landed estates, especially in the Dneprovsk

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district; but for the last 25 years there has been a tendency to sell all land to the Russian colonists and migrate to the towns.

The Russian language was introduced in the schools of the colonists in 1860; and in 1871 their schools were taken over by the Ministry of Education.

The German colonies are chiefly found in the Governments of Taurida, Volhynia, and Yekaterinoslav.

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A special map of the Ukraine, on the scale of 1 : 4,500,000, has been issued by George Philip & Son (London Geogr. Institute).